

JESUIT ENCOUNTERS IN THE NEW WORLD:
JESUIT CHRONICLERS, GEOGRAPHERS,
EDUCATORS AND MISSIONARIES
IN THE AMERICAS, 1549-1767

Edited by
JOSEPH A. GAGLIANO
and
CHARLES E. RONAN, S.J.



INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM S.I.

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*This volume is dedicated to
the eminent historians*

ERNEST J. BURRUS, S.J.
and
FELIX ZUBILLAGA, S.J.

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INTRODUCTION

The papers published in this volume were presented originally in the international symposium "Agents of Change: The Jesuits and Encounters of Two Worlds," which was held at Loyola University of Chicago in October 1992 to commemorate the quincentennial of the Columbus voyages. Recognizing the increased scholarly attention being given to the acculturative impact of Catholic religious orders in the encounters between European and indigenous cultures in the Americas and acknowledging the University's identity as a Jesuit institution, the symposium organizers planned a conference that would focus on the role of missionaries from the Society of Jesus in transforming Amerindian cultures and conversely consider how the Jesuits promoted cultural exchange, borrowing from what they experienced in the New World.

An official project of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Commission, the Loyola symposium was funded jointly by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Loyola Endowment for the Humanities, the Loyola Endowment for the Liberal Arts and the Loyola University Latin American Studies Program. It gathered together scholars from the United States, Latin America, Canada and Europe. Several presenters and commentators surveyed the contributions of Jesuit chroniclers and historians as informers to the Old World about the new. Others probed the significance of black robe explorers and geographers in mapping the Western Hemisphere and opening frontier territories to settlement. Panelists concentrating on more familiar Jesuit apostolates surveyed the successes and shortcomings of their schools in Indian communities, as well as in those with predominantly white populations. They reviewed trends and issues in their missionary activities from the sixteenth century until their expulsion from the Portuguese colo-

nies in 1759 and from the Spanish and French empires shortly thereafter. While considering such themes as the extent to which Jesuits shaped cultural and institutional developments in the Americas, several participants also emphasized indigenous resistance as well as receptiveness to such efforts.

Employing the methodologies of the emerging school of "New Mission History," presenters and commentators sought to provide a balanced assessment of New World encounters which would include an analysis of Amerindian perspectives. Many of the essays reproduced in the following pages clearly demonstrate a significant departure from the often panegyric approaches of earlier mission historians such as Robert Ricard and Herbert Eugene Bolton. In so doing, they elucidate Jesuit responses to the different political, economic and cultural contexts in which they operated. In analyzing the often difficult relations with colonial officials, they explain that, while Jesuits usually cooperated with secular authority, they also challenged it when injustices and exploitation arose. In delineating the diverse cultural environments with which the Jesuits interacted, other essays focus on issues of ethnocentrism and tolerance evident in Jesuit observations and controversies from the beginnings of their missionizing activities. Internal disputes among Jesuit missionaries and educators often concerned effective measures to Christianize native populations perceived as varying substantially in cultural attainments.

The ethnocentrism and at the same time tolerance characterizing Jesuit perspectives in their New World activities were evident from the very beginnings of the Society of Jesus. Founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, the religious order mirrored the militancy of the Catholic revival during the Reformation Era. In Europe, the Jesuits attempted to win back reform Christians from Protestantism. In the Western Hemisphere, as well as in Asia, they were eager to Christianize the vast populations they encountered. This militancy, especially during the first decades of missionary endeavor, was seen in their regarding conversion as essential, even to the point of initially supporting the enslavement of Brazilian natives to facilitate their Christianization. It was further manifested in the conviction they shared with the New World conquerors and colonizers that European culture was superior to any they found among the

Indians, whom early chroniclers generally called savages.

Jesuit perspectives of the Other in the Americas were moulded not only by the militancy of the Reformation's religious conflicts but also the humanism of the Renaissance. Negative ethnocentric views were countered by the influence of Renaissance humanism in the training of Jesuits, which contributed to a tolerance, and even appreciation, of indigenous cultures. Advocating the value of non-Christian literature for its own merits, the humanists had postulated a unity of truth that could be found in pagan as well as Christian sources. This emphasis provided an open response in matters of religious belief. In addition, the humanistic education of the Jesuits gave them entree to foreign cultures, epitomized by the welcome Matteo Ricci received in sixteenth-century China because of his mathematical scholarship and other intellectual attributes. In the New World, black robes were often accepted as missionaries and educators by Amerindian agricultural peoples because of their perceived advanced scientific knowledge and technology.

In effect, the Jesuits represent an ideal prism through which to view the tensions of the encounters during the expansion of European civilization in early modern times. The tensions between tolerance and intolerance, between humanism and scholasticism and between ethnocentrism and enlightenment were built into the very structures of the religious order. Those structures in many ways reflected its founder. Raised in the militant milieu of the Spanish *reconquista*, Ignatius Loyola first dreamed of serving the monarchs of a united, Catholic Spain who had driven the Moors out of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492. Immediately after his religious conversion, he dreamed of converting the Turk. His militant piety would be tempered only through a lengthy process of education.

In turn, Ignatius insisted that his followers also undergo a long and rigorous academic preparation. From their first days in the order, Jesuits studied the foreign languages of ancient Greece and Rome. The classical languages and literature they learned comprised the heart of a humanist program. Ideally, this training should have fostered a sense of historical disfunction and an appreciation for another culture on its own merits. Indicative of the tensions in their formation and subsequent

missionary experiences, the Jesuits also learned the philosophy and theology of the scholastic tradition. Rooted in Aristotelian logic, scholasticism had an abstract and metacultural cast to it. In contrast to the Renaissance humanists, however, the scholastic propounded a truth that was apodictic and systematic.

A final and key variable in understanding Jesuit perspectives in the New World encounters stems from the lack of a precise definition of ministry in the Society of Jesus. Priestly ministry was not conceived in exclusively sacramental or liturgical terms. Ignatius had set no limits on the place or circumstances of Jesuit ministries, as long as they were devoted to "the greater glory of God." He envisioned an order of mobile apostles who could play a leadership role if they were free to move into new and critical areas. Jesuit ministry, at its best, proffered an ideal of service to those in need, wherever found and whoever they were.

The following essays analyze these Jesuit ideals in practice. Exploring aspects of the Jesuit New World experience, they provide concrete examples of how the Jesuits addressed the needs of those they came to convert. While the ethnocentrism of European colonizers was evident among the black robes as well, the humanist current in their training contributed to a spirituality that valued public service, demanded justice in the treatment of native Americans, and affirmed the most positive aspects of the cultures they encountered.

The essays also have a poignant contemporary relevance. Several years ago, the film *Mission*, based on the efforts of the Jesuits in Paraguay among the Guaraní Indians during the eighteenth century, was awarded the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival. The use of such an inherently popular medium to consider the questions and themes analyzed in this volume argues forcefully for their interest to a wide public audience. The 1989 slaying of six Jesuits in El Salvador especially demonstrates that the issues addressed by the scholars in the Loyola conference are still relevant to the New World. Among those killed were Europeans who had worked for years in Central America. Together they had made their university in San Salvador a center for the study of the grave structural problems behind the civil war gripping that tiny nation. These individuals were among the most recent heirs of a tradition stretching back

to the sixteenth century in which Europeans came to the Americas to serve the Christian faith in both its spiritual and social dimensions. The essays which follow help to illuminate the tensions and complexities of that ongoing missionary tradition.

Joseph A. Gagliano
Department of History
Loyola University of Chicago

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We are most grateful for the efforts of Walter P. Krolkowski, S.J., as copy editor. His expert skill, as well as patience, served to give stylistic consistency to the twelve papers appearing in this volume. While acknowledging the help of the entire editorial staff of the Jesuit Institute of History in Rome, we especially appreciated the assistance of László Szilas, S.J., its Senior Editor, in the completion of the project. Wanda Sala, Senior Secretary, Loyola University Department of History, and Friederika Kaider, Loyola University, School of Education prepared manuscript copy with extraordinary care. We also thank Russell Carpenter and Lynn Brown for preparing the index.

Lastly, the participants in the 1992 Loyola Quincentennial Symposium have our appreciation for their encouragement that we publish the conference papers. Space limitations have prevented the inclusion of the commentaries presented by Magnus Mörner, Stuart Schwartz and Georgette Dorn at the conference. Their important contributions, as well as the observations of John Te Paske, Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., and the late

Clement McNaspy, S.J., who chaired symposium sessions, have served to advance research on Jesuit activities in the colonial Americas and the “New Mission History.”

J.A.G
C.E.R., S.J.
February 1995

SERAFIM LEITE, S.J., PREMIER HISTORIAN OF COLONIAL BRAZIL: AN OVERDUE APPRECIATION

DAURIL ALDEN

In 1932, the leaders of the Society of Jesus made an important assignment. They asked a middle aged priest, Serafim Leite, to write a multi-volume history of the Society's activities between its founding (1540) and its suppression (1773) in some part of the former Portuguese Assistancy, an administrative unity that extended from the kingdom of Portugal to its empire and beyond to lands where the Portuguese crown claimed spiritual patronage rights (the *Padroado real*). Since the beginning of the century, the Society's historians had already produced a number of such accounts. Stanisław Żałoski's five volumes on the Jesuits in Poland led the way. The final volumes of Bernard Dühr's study of Jesuits in the German-speaking lands had recently appeared. The last of Antonio Astrain's seven on the Spanish Assistancy was published in 1925, the same year as the final volume of Henri Fouquieray's five on the French Assistancy, while the remarkably energetic Pietro Tacchi Venturi was still at work on the massive account of Jesuit endeavors in his natal Italy.¹

Despite the onset of the world depression, the times were propitious for Leite's assignment. First, the previous year Francisco Rodrigues (1873-1955) published the first of what would ultimately become seven volumes concerning the history of the old Portuguese Assistancy, thereby providing a context

¹ Stanisław Żałoski, S.J. (1843-1908), *Jezuici w Polsce*, 5 vols. (Lwów, 1905-1906); Bernhard Duhr, S.J. (1852-1930), *Geschichte der Jesuiten in der Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 vols. in 6 (Freiburg, 1907-1928), rpr. New York, 1973; Antonio Astrain, S.J. (1857-1928), *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1902-1925); Henri Fouquieray, S.J. (1860-1927), *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines á la suppression (1528-1762)*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1910-1925); and Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J. (1861-1951), *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, narrata col sussidio di fonti inedite*, 2 vols. in 4 (Rome, 1910-1951).

for the Brazil portions of the story.² Second, a few years earlier (in 1924) the Italian government agreed to return to the Society on extended loan what remained of the legal papers of the office of the procurator (or solicitor) general during the years of the original Society. Those papers included valuable documentary scraps on the colleges that comprised the Portuguese Assistancy and were housed in the restored Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. There, beginning in 1931, they were joined by an even larger body of papers belonging to the secretariat of the fathers general since the order's founding. Those archives had been kept in Holland since 1893 to prevent the Italian government from seizing them. Between 1931 and 1939 all that remained of the original archives — some 4,967 codices (1,608 linear meters) were returned to the Eternal City. Fortunately, the first shipments included the surviving papers on one particular part of the old Portuguese Assistancy — Brazil. Thirdly, the planned return of the general archives led to the founding of the Society's Historical Institute in 1931 whose members included a group of Spanish Jesuit scholars from Madrid, where they and their predecessors had been producing the distinguished Jesuit documentary series known as the *Monumenta Historica* since 1892. The next year (1932) the Institute began publication of its outstanding semi-annual review, the *Archivum Historicum S.I.*, which continues.

But if the time appeared ripe for the Society to sponsor its first modern history of Jesuit enterprise beyond Europe during the early modern period, the reasons that led to the selection of Serafim Leite to initiate such an endeavor are not altogether obvious. It is true that since 1929 he had served as editor of a Jesuit cultural monthly known as *Brotéria*, named after the Lisbon Writers House.³ Still, his early writings did not mark him as likely to become a major and prolific historian. Most of them were brief religious commentaries, biographical

² *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal*, 4 vols. in 7 (Porto, 1931-1950).

³ It was founded in 1902 and until 1925 was chiefly known for several scientific periodicals produced by the members of the Brotéria residence. In the latter year the *Revista de cultura geral*, today *Brotéria: Cultura e informação*, first appeared. António Lopes, S.J., *Roteiro Histórico dos Jesuítas em Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1985), 146-147.

sketches of forgotten historical figures, and considerable poetry.⁴ Moreover, he was far from being a youngster when he began his vast undertaking, having been born in São João da Madeira, Portugal, a small town about an hour's drive south of Porto, in 1890.⁵

When he was asked to produce a history of the labors of Jesuits in the old Portuguese Assistancy, Leite was given the choice of working either on the old Portuguese administrative unit called the State of India (Mozambique to Macao) or on Brazil.⁶ There can be little mystery why he selected Brazil.⁷ As he himself once remarked, he "passed the best years" of his youth in Brazil, specifically along the Amazon River near its junction with the Río Negro, where he accompanied his father, a vendor of hats, and joined an uncle born in Portugal, his wife born in Ceará, and their family. For a time he traveled extensively in the rain forest as a rubber buyer and came to know many of the impoverished rubber tappers (*seringueiros*). Later he became a bookkeeper and an occasional contributor to a local newspaper. As he matured, he learned the Tupí language and developed an abiding admiration for the early Jesuit missionary achievements in Amazonia. Determined to enter the Society of Jesus, he left his position as a bookkeeper and returned to his native land in 1914 on the eve of World War I. However, because the government of Portugal had banned the Society after the revolution of 1910, he was obliged to travel to Alseberg, Belgium, where he encountered another uncle, a namesake, an exiled Jesuit who helped him to join the Society. Upon completing his novitiate in Alseberg, Leite traveled to

⁴ Miguel Batllori, S.J., *Bibliografia de Serafim Leite, S.I.* (Rome, 1962) (hereafter BSL), items 1-66.

⁵ Not São João de Madeira as indicated in two of Leite's obituaries. See n. 8. Several of Leite's early publications concerned his natal town to which he evidently remained close. BSL, items 14, 15, 17, 92, 93, 95, and 140.

⁶ Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 v. (Rio de Janeiro-Lisbon, 1938-1950) (hereafter HCJB), 1:ix; 6, preface; 10:xi.

⁷ No one has ever accepted the challenge of constructing a history of Jesuit activities in the Portuguese world east of the Cape of Good Hope, although an excellent documentary foundation is now available to facilitate part of that task, most notably Josef Wicki, S.J., *Documenta indica*, 18 vols. (Rome, 1948-1988), and Hubert Jacobs, S.J., *Documenta malucensia*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1974-1984).

Spain where he studied humanities for three years in San Jerónimo de Murcia, followed by four years of philosophy at the Colegio Máximo in Granada. In 1924, he returned to Belgium to undertake a four-year course in theology at Enghien. Then he was briefly assigned to France where he served most of the year 1929 as a worker priest attending to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese coal miners in Pas-de-Calais and Dunkerque. Late in 1929 he joined the editorial team at *Brotéria*.⁸ Three years later he began a remarkable undertaking.

Leite was determined to write a "scientific and complete" history of his order's enterprise in Brazil based upon "modern methods" and "the very letters and reports of the actors themselves."⁹ To those ends he resolved to base his work upon the widest possible array of authentic, usually manuscript, sources, and to provide a rigorously organized, comprehensive analysis of the vast range of accomplishments by his order in Brazil. In 1932, he began to survey the resources of Portuguese archives for his project. They included materials in the principal archives of Lisbon — the manuscript section of the National Library, the National Archives (*Torre do Tombo*), the archives of the hill-top palace of Ajuda, and the newly organized colonial archives, later known as the Overseas Archives (*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*). Outside of the capital, Leite also examined the extensive manuscript collections of the general library of Évora, the archives of the University of Coimbra, the public library of Porto, and several others. The next year he consulted the leading archives in Spain, Belgium, Holland, and Italy. The richest finds were naturally in Rome, especially the Society's own archives, those of the Vatican, and the Jesuit collection in

⁸ Biographical data concerning Leite comes in part from occasional personal references in *HCJB* and also from Domingos Maurício, "Serafim Leite," *Brotéria*, 90, no. 2 (Feb. 1970):164-173. See also *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (hereafter *AHSI*), 39 (July-December, 1970):461-462; and *The Americas*, 28 (April, 1971):456-457, the latter by his long-time friend, Ernest J. Burrus, S.J.. Inocêncio Pinho, "O historiador da missão jesuítica no Brasil (Centenário de Serafim Leite S.I., 1890-1990)," *Brotéria*, 131 (1990):191-205, adds a few additional details concerning Leite's preparatory studies but says nothing of consequence concerning his historical scholarship.

⁹ *HCJB*, 1:x and xii; 10:xi.

the national library. In subsequent years he would return to the most vital of those archives, particularly those in Évora and in Lisbon, when he needed to consult additional holdings for his later volumes.

In 1934, Leite went back to Brazil, a land for which he always expressed profound affection, and investigated the relevant resources of federal, state, municipal and some private archives and historical institutes between São Paulo and Belém, the dominant city at the mouth of the Amazon. He discovered then what other investigators would later learn, namely that while Brazilian archives are weakest on the early colonial period, some possess extensive collections of original documents and transcripts from European archives for the last colonial century.

Wherever Leite traveled, he ordered "thousands" of photostats of the documents that he deemed useful to his project. During the years he was writing his multi-volume study and afterward, he would publish authentic texts of many key documents whose importance he was the first to recognize. Some of his edited sources would appear first in newspapers and periodicals and would later be worked into the appendices of his *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* or the *History* as it will be referred to henceforth; still others came to light in the first collections of documents that he edited and published.¹⁰

His productivity during the eighteen years that it took him to complete the *History* was remarkable.¹¹ Between 1933 and 1950, he published a total of 163 articles, books, and documentary introductions. More than a quarter (26.8%) of that material found its way into his *History* or into the books that he edited during those years or later on.¹² The first two volumes of the *History* appear in 1938, the next pair in 1943, followed

¹⁰ *Páginas de história do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1937); *Novas cartas jesuítas — de Nóbrega a Vieira* (São Paulo, 1940).

¹¹ In the final volume Leite, acknowledged the aid of several assistants in Rome, Lisbon, and Rio de Janeiro who relieved him of the burden of making photostats and probably transcribed documents and typed portions of his manuscripts. *HCJB*, 10:xii.

¹² *BSL*, items 67-218. Included were two documentary collections cited in note 10 and his biography of the Jesuit pioneer in Northern Brazil: *Luiz Figueira. A sua vida heróica e a sua obra literária* (Lisbon, 1940).

by another two in 1945. The last textual volume (7) was published in 1949, as were two volumes of supplementary material. The next year saw the appearance of a very comprehensive volume containing multiple indices. The completed project included more than 4,000 pages of text and nearly 1,300 additional pages of supporting material.

The *History* unfolds both chronologically and topically. Forty-nine chapters of the initial two volumes focus upon the Jesuit enterprise during the sixteenth century for which surviving Jesuit documentary sources are particularly rich. They begin with the planting of the Society along the east coast of Brazil, starting at Bahia de Todos os Santos, where Jesuits — the first members of the Order sent to the New World — participated in the establishment of the new royal capital, Salvador (1549), and continuing with the Society's missionary beginnings south and north of that capital city, from São Paulo as far north as the fledgling colony of Natal in Rio Grande do Norte. The second volume examines the beginnings of important Jesuit activities in the colony — their evangelical approaches to the *Brasis*, the colony's indigenous inhabitants, their relations with the first governors general, and their first contributions to science, letters, and the arts.¹³

The third and fourth volumes focus on Jesuit endeavors between the so-called hump of Brazil and the Amazon, i.e., what in 1727 became the Society's vice province of Maranhão, separated from the province of Brazil. Both emphasize the Jesuits' evangelical efforts among the *Brasis*, especially within Amazonia, and the Jesuits' endless conflicts with the early settlers concerning access to indigenous labor. Volume 4 picks up themes introduced in the first volumes, including the Society's internal organization, its dependence upon its own estates for much of its support, and its contributions to science, arts, and letters.

The next pair also develops earlier themes within the province of Brazil during the years 1600-1760. Volume 5 examines the development of Jesuit educational and evangelical institutions primarily in Bahia and secondarily in other parts of

¹³ For an excellent assessment of these first two volumes, see *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 20 (August 1940):438-441.

Brazil's Northeast as well as the estates that supported such ventures. The succeeding volume does the same with respect to Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the Brazilian Far South and interior.

The four books that constitutes Volume 7 bring the text of the *History* to a conclusion. The first returns to an earlier theme and examines the internal government of the province of Brazil, while the second emphasizes education and theology. The third considers a variety of subjects including the ethnic composition of personnel serving in the province and in the vice province of Maranhão; the opposition of Jesuits (and other religious orders) to payment of tithes upon their landed properties; and their resistance to episcopal discipline. The single chapter of Book IV is devoted to a generally disappointing account of the 'persecution' of the 1750s that led to the end of the original Society's activities in the Portuguese Assistancy.

After so many richly informative pages, one yearns for a summation of the author's thoughts about Jesuit achievements and disappointments in Brazil, but it is not forthcoming. Instead, Volumes 8 and 9 provide bio-bibliographies of about 500 Jesuits, nearly all of them priests, most of them missionaries but some of them career administrators, who wrote on various aspects of Jesuit enterprise in Brazil, rich material for the biographer. As mentioned above, the last volume provides a series of helpful indices which not only analyze the lengthy text but also the *History's* considerable number of photographs and very helpful maps that Leite himself prepared.

Throughout the *History*, Leite emphasized several major themes. For him the most important concerned the conversion of Brazil's hundreds of indigenous tribes. Beginning with the reign of John III (1521-1557), Portugal's sovereigns asserted that the conversion of the natives was the principal justification for Portugal's entry into Brazil.¹⁴ Like Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) and others writing in the 1930s and 1940s, Leite clearly viewed the *Brasis* as the Europeans' cultural inferiors, as pagans who lacked any formal religious heritage. Consequently, in order to introduce them to the "vineyard of the Lord," he argued that it was necessary to begin to cultivate

¹⁴ This and the following paragraph based upon *HCJB*, 2:3-110.

their roots. Although the Amerindians were readily attracted to the new faith by songs, dances, plays, and other forms of pageantry, they required, in Leite's view, "guidance, protection, spiritual reinforcement," and isolation from corrupting influences, including their own shaman and predatory white settlers. In order to become true Christians, they must also be compelled to give up polygamy and their penchants for continual inter-tribal warfare, anthropophagy, excessive consumption of alcohol, and reliance upon magic and its practitioners.

Leite viewed the early Jesuits' efforts to reach the *Brasis* as "heroic" and emphasized that the obstacles they faced were formidable and included the feeble memories of the newly converted and their propensity for flight to escape white slavers and devastating, newly introduced diseases. The priests taught their neophytes to read and to write, to dance and to sing, and to assist in the conduct of Masses. Since there were never enough priests to attend all of the Indians who needed them, it was also necessary, Leite conceded, to encourage children to inform on their delinquent, backsliding parents. Because of the multiplicity of Indian tongues and the relative scarcity of missionaries, it was also essential to facilitate communication with the Amerindians by teaching them a common language, the Tupí-based lingua franca known as the *língua geral*.¹⁵

According to Leite and to the missionaries themselves, it was best, of course, to organize the neophytes into isolated missions (*aldeias*). The early governors-general named bailiffs and other officials to administer such communities in accordance with the orders of the priests. However, because of massive flights of the Indians during Brazil's initial smallpox epidemic (1563-1564), Mem de Sá (governor-general, 1557-1572) named so-called lay captains to administer the remaining missions in Bahia and elsewhere along the eastern seaboard. But the priests concluded that the presence of such laymen impeded their own spiritual labors and subsequently insisted that they themselves be equipped with full responsibility for the

¹⁵ *HCJB*, 10, 144, s.v. "Linguística Americana." Stuart B. Schwartz has charged that the introduction of the *língua geral* accelerated the detribalization of the Amerindians. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society. Bahia, 1550-1835* (New York, 1985), 40. The same, of course, could be said of the settlers who enslaved and decimated the *Brasis*.

missions' internal affairs. For nearly two centuries the settlers fought to regain temporal control of the missions, but the Jesuits stood firm, sometimes supported by the crown, sometimes not. As Leite demonstrated, the ensuing conflicts were especially heated in Brazil's impoverished Far North and Southeast and on several occasions led to popular uprisings, to temporary expulsions of the Jesuits, and ultimately to institutional compromises that effectively deprived many *Brasis* of their liberty. Yet even those compromises failed to dampen the lingering hostility of settlers toward the Jesuits.¹⁶

On Brazil's eastern littoral such hostility was less apparent. There the drastic decline of the indigenous population, primarily as a consequence of introduced maladies,¹⁷ and the growth of the labor-intensive cane sugar industry led to the substitution of imported African slaves for Amerindian field hands.¹⁸ With rare and soon silenced exceptions' the Jesuits did not oppose black slavery.

In the *History* and in several other publications Leite attempted to defend the contradictory attitude of the Jesuits who accepted one form of slavery while opposing another. He reasoned that (1) slavery existed in Africa long before the arrival of the first Europeans; (2) the institution had long been sanctioned by the laws of the church and those of leading European states; (3) Jesuit opposition might have imperiled their evangelical and educational activities in Brazil, indeed their very presence there; and (4) blacks sent to the New World or who toiled under Jesuit care in Africa benefitted from contact with a more advanced culture and with the Christian

¹⁶ The Jesuits were expelled from the captaincy of São Paulo between 1640 and 1653; from the two northern captaincies of Maranhão and Pará in 1661-1662; and from Maranhão a second time in 1684. For settler-Jesuit conflicts over the Amerindian, see *HCJB*, 4, Bk. 1, Chs. 2-4 and 6; Bk. 4, Chs. 2-3, 5 and 6.

¹⁷ D. Alden and Joseph C. Miller, "Unwanted Cargoes: the Origins and Dissemination of Smallpox via the Slave Trade from Africa to Brazil, c. 1560-1830," Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The African Exchange: Toward a Biological History of Black People* (Durham, N.C., 1987), 5-109.

¹⁸ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, *passim*.

faith.¹⁹ Such views, unconvincing today, were standard fare for one writing in the days of Salazarist Portugal.

There was, of course, another reason why Jesuits could not overtly condemn the use of black slaves, one that Leite must have known from his consultation of the periodic economic reports that the provincials and vice provincials sent to Rome. The Jesuits themselves depended heavily upon black slaves to produce commodities that supported their educational and evangelical programs. Indeed, by the eighteenth century, the Jesuits in Brazil possessed more black slaves than any other entity, corporate or individual.²⁰

Most Jesuit-owned slaves labored upon the estates, great and small, that their colleges from the Amazon to São Paulo acquired between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The origins and development of those properties constitute another of Leite's major themes. As he demonstrates, the Jesuits found it necessary to become planters, farmers, and ranchers in part because the economy demanded these diverse activities and in part because promised royal support proved tardy and inadequate to sustain them. Like their secular rivals, the Jesuits primarily produced for sale in local markets and for export to the kingdom major staples such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, and cacao, but their larger estates also turned out impressive quantities of sawn timbers, especially cabinet woods, bricks, ceramics, basketry, small water craft, wine, fruits, and vegetables. Throughout his discussion of such Jesuit properties, Leite was always careful to emphasize that they were simply intended to support their own colleges and their dependencies rather than to serve as profit-making ventures.²¹

¹⁹ *HCJB*, 2:350 and 6:350-353. See also his introduction to Jorge Benci, S.J., *Economia cristã dos senhores no governo dos escravos* (1700) (2d ed., Porto, 1954), which is a vigorous rejoinder to C.R. Boxer's criticism of the Society's acceptance of black slavery (*Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686* [London, 1952], 236-237). Leite's final reflections on the subject appear in "A Companhia de Jesus e os pretos do Brasil," *Brotéria*, 68 (May, 1959):534-538.

²⁰ D. Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, her Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (forthcoming, Stanford University Press, 1995), Chap. 20.

²¹ *HCJB*, 3, Bk. 1, Ch. 4; Bk. 2, Ch. 3; and Bk. 3, Ch. 6. See also 5, Bk.

In the preface to his fourth volume, Leite reminds his readers of the versatility of the Jesuits who served in Brazil's two provinces. "The Jesuit was a master teacher and farmer, a builder and a mechanic, an academic professor and a scholar, a stock man and a lord of the mill, an infirmarian and a physician, an explorer of waterways and lands, a founder of settlements, a confessor and an advisor of governors and viceroys...but above everything...he was a catechist, a friend and a defender of the Indians."²² Throughout his study but especially in its appendices and in volumes 8 and 9 he provides more extensive bio-bibliographical information concerning the most conspicuous members of the Society in colonial Brazil, an invaluable biographical source unmatched in any other history of the order.

Leite was close to his sixtieth birthday when he read the proof of the final volume of the *History*. One might well have expected that, after so many years of such intense labors, he might have withdrawn from the historical arena except for an occasional essay and book review. But Leite was far from done. Indeed, during the next dozen years he published or had ready for publication close to another seventy items.²³

Because of the nature of the sources, most of the *History* emphasizes the contributions of missionaries, college administrators, and scholars rather than the supportive role of estate administrators and lay brothers. The activities of those brothers who supported the more esteemed spiritual endeavors become the subject of a very interesting volume, one that, so

1, Chs. 12 and 16, and Bk. 2, Ch. 6, as well as 6, Bk. 1, Chs. 3 and 4, and Bk. 3, Ch. 2.

²² *HCJB*, 4:x.

²³ The *BSL* stops in 1962, but includes four items then in press. In addition to those forthcoming publications, Leite also published between 1964 and 1968, the year before his death, a highly condensed version of the *History*, the *Suma histórica da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil (assistência de Portugal) 1549-1760* (Lisbon, 1965), a volume of mostly previously published essays, *Novas páginas de história do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1965), the last volume of the *Monumenta Brasiliae* series cited in the following note, and seven articles. All are listed in László Polgár's annual bibliographies of Jesuit writings in *AHSI* for the years 1964-1968. At the time of his demise, Leite had assembled part of the material for a sixth volume in that series, one that is now being completed by members of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome.

far as I know, has no counterpart elsewhere in Jesuit historiography. In *Artes e ofícios dos Jesuítas no Brasil (1549-1760)* (Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, 1953) Leite discusses the activities of architects, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, fishermen, sugar mill managers, pilots, barbers, domestics, and others who contributed immeasurably to the achievements of Jesuit enterprise in Brazil. The next year he issued a small but revealing volume that contains the text of a Jesuit's admonitions to the owners of slaves urging their humane treatment.²⁴

He also published five volumes of Jesuit letters concerning Brazil between 1549 and 1568.²⁵ Known as *Monumenta Brasiliae*, that series fully measures up to the very high editorial standards that have always characterized the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* series since its inception. Leite had long been interested in providing authentic texts of major documents concerning Jesuit enterprise in Brazil. Apart from the earlier-cited volumes of Jesuit letters, each volume of the *History* contains invaluable documentary appendices with a wide variety of documents drawn principally from the Archivum Romanum S.I. As is standard procedure for the *Monumenta Historica* series, each volume of the *Monumenta Brasiliae* series provides biographical sketches of leading personages mentioned in the documents, each of which is preceded by bibliographical data concerning other editions and variant texts of the document, the location of the original and, if available, variant texts, and summaries of the principal subjects that they discuss.

Over time Leite's reputation may well rest almost as heavily upon the original documents that he edited and published as upon his massive *History*. A question that naturally arises concerning the latter is whether it can be deemed a definitive account of Jesuit enterprise in colonial Brazil. The answer is that it can not. First, Leite worked in the archives, especially those of Lisbon, at a time when they were far less well organized than they are today. As a consequence, he never saw many pertinent documents such as the dispatches of colonial gover-

²⁴ See n. 18.

²⁵ (Rome, 1956-1968).

nors and magistrates who often informed the crown concerning Jesuit deeds or alleged misdeeds. Second, while he consulted vast quantities of material pertaining to Jesuit personnel, he did not raise or answer the sorts of question that would interest the current generation of scholars, especially those interested in social or biographical questions. Thirdly, since he viewed the final expulsion and the sequestration of Jesuit assets as an unmerited tragedy, he failed to provide more than a cursory explanation of why the Portuguese crown, the first to welcome the order to its domains and the first to dispatch its representatives overseas, became the first to suppress the Society and to persecute many of its members in its kingdom and empire during the 1760s and 1770s.²⁶ As a result, for example, he failed to explore the extensive correspondence between the Jesuits and two of their archenemies in the Amazon, a Dominican bishop and a brother of the royal minister who orchestrated the final solution to the so-called Jesuit problem, the future Marquis of Pombal.²⁷ Fourthly, although Leite recognized the importance of the economic underpinnings of Jesuit undertakings in Brazil and was certainly familiar with much of the surviving evidence, he did not attempt to analyze that evidence to discover the sort of meaningful patterns that intrigues today's economic historians. Lastly, neither in his massive *History* nor in his abbreviated summary did Leite provide a summary conclusion illuminating the many insights that he had gained from his nearly two decades of labors.

Nevertheless, Leite remains one of the foremost scholars of colonial Brazil. His *History* is in many respects a model of thoroughness and exceptional lucidity. Inevitably the text is partial to the author's heroes: all seemingly adhered strictly to their vows, were exemplary in their conduct and always championed just causes without rancor. Still, those volumes tell a complete story insofar as it interested the author, i.e., he started with the entrance of the order to Brazil and ended with its

²⁶ Although the *History* contains a few earlier references to the seizure of Jesuit assets, Leite dealt with the expulsion primarily in his final chapter: *HCJB*, 7, Bk. 4, Ch. "Unico."

²⁷ Many of those sources are in the *Coleção Pombalina* series in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Others are in the *Torre do Tombo* and in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

definitive expulsion from the colony rather than stopping in mid-course as have many other multi-volume histories of Jesuit enterprises. In his five volumes on the French Assistancy, Fouquieray managed to get to only 1645; Tacchi Venturi reached only 1556 in his four volumes, while Leite's colleague Francisco Rodrigues, though completing seven volumes, stopped at 1750, leaving the rest of the story to the able Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos (1896-1978) who himself expired before getting the job done. Leite, on the other hand, finished what he set out to do and provided the richest account of Jesuit enterprise that we possess for any part of the original Society's operations.

Leite was in declining health when I first met him at the Lisbon residence known as Brotéria in 1968. He listened with kindness and interest to my description of the study that I was then beginning, one initially restricted to the economic activities of the Jesuits in colonial Brazil, and introduced me to Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos with whom I later had many fruitful discussions. Sometime during the autumn of 1968, Leite returned to the Writers' House in Rome to resume work on the next volume of his *Monumenta Brasiliae*. Two days past Christmas in 1969 he died after saying the morning Mass. The citizens of his natal town arranged to have his remains returned to his birthplace, where they were interred in a monument erected in his honor. While few of us may be able to pay our respects to him in São João da Madeira, all of us can honor him for his enduring scholarly achievements, especially his remarkable *History* and his indispensable documentary editions. His was an exceptional achievement, for Serafim Leite set high scholarly and literary standards that few of us are capable of matching. Along with Manuel da Nóbrega²⁸, José de Anchieta²⁹, Inácio de Azevedo³⁰, António Vieira³¹, Simão de

²⁸ Manuel da Nóbrega. B. 18 October 1517, Portugal; e. 21 November 1549; d. 18 October 1570, Rio de Janeiro.

²⁹ José de Anchieta. B. 19 March 1534, Laguno (Canárias); e. 1 May 1551; d. 9 June 1597, Aldeia de Reritiba.

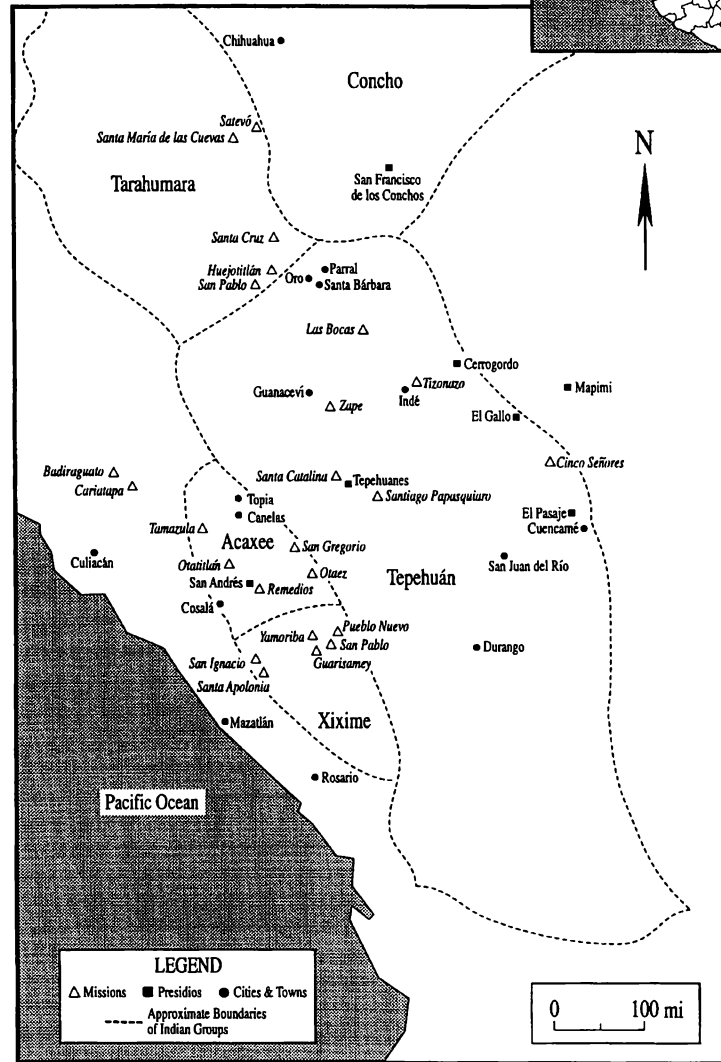
³⁰ Inácio de Azevedo. B. c. 1527, near Porto; e. 28 December 1548; d. 15 July 1610, at sea.

³¹ António Vieira. B. 6 February 1608, Lisbon; e. 5 May 1623; d. 18 July 1697, Bahia.

Vasconcelos³², and others whose labors he did so much to illuminate, he and his work deserve to be remembered and respected.

³² Simão de Vasconcelos. B. c. 1596, Porto; e. 1615; d. 29 September 1671, Rio de Janeiro.

17th and 18th Century Jesuit Missions in Southern Nueva Vizcaya



Map 1

JESUIT CHRONICLERS AND CHRONICLES OF NORTHWESTERN NEW SPAIN

W. MICHAEL MATHES

Introduction

Religious chronicles, initiated by friars of the Franciscan Order in the fourteenth century, while at times convoluted, are important historical sources.¹ As various religious orders participated in the greatly desired universal evangelization, these chronicles not only incorporated historical data relative to activities of their European members, but also extraordinarily valuable information relative to geography, natural history, ethnology, linguistics, and secular history. This great expansion of the chronicler's horizon did not alter the basic function of his work, for he wrote for the record and for his order, not for widespread public distribution, but the task did require increasing skills in research methodology and secular knowledge. As regular clergy participated in the age of discovery and exploration, they became increasingly aware of the historical importance of their enterprise and, thereby, of the greater need for historical writing.

As secular history, natural science, and ethnology became interwoven with the process of evangelization, the need for incorporating edifying information within any given chronicle was not eliminated. Geographic expansion of religious orders created an immediate need for recruitment; thus, the labors of other members of the order, their contributions, virtues and sanctity, and, most importantly, sacrifices, including martyrdom, were important aspects of the recounting of historical biography. Designed to stimulate vocations, such accounts, often in the form of letters, as in the monumental, twenty-six-volume *Lettres Édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions*

¹ See: Juan de San Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana, sive alumnorum trium ordinum S.P.N. Francisci, qui ab ordine Seraphico condito, usque ad praesentem diem*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Typographia Causae V. Matris de Agreda, 1732-1733).

étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus, published in Paris from 1702 to 1776, frequently reduced factual aspects of the narrative to a secondary category.

The Society of Jesus, founded by Iñigo de Loyola (c.1491-1556) and approved by Pope Paul III (1468-1549; pope, 1534-1549) on 27 September 1540, was a relatively new religious order in relationship to the opening of the New World and, specifically, of New Spain. The first Jesuits arrived at Veracruz on 9 September 1572, a half-century following the arrival of the Franciscans and Dominicans. However, they and their successors were to play a vast and indelible part in the development of the viceroyalty. In general, members of the privileged class in Europe, and later of the New World, and university educated, Jesuits of New Spain quickly became active leaders of intellectual life in the colony. In the same academic sense, Jesuit writers were leaders in the writing of the history, natural and human, of New Spain. Due to a shortage in personnel, through efforts in 1673 of Sebastián Izquierdo (1601-1681), procurator for the Spanish Jesuit provinces in Rome, foreigners were allowed to be missionaries in Spanish colonial America. As might be expected, diverse standards and times and ethnic differences among Jesuit authors tended to influence their writings. For instance, early chronicles evidence some medieval spiritual-miraculous superstitions, and those of later production reflect, increasingly, the influence of the scientific-secularist Enlightenment. Further, subtle differences between more traditionally mystical Spanish writers and less emotional Germanic and Slavic authors also exist.

Expansion was rapid; in 1584, the Society established its novitiate at Tepotzotlán north of Mexico city, and two years later founded a college for Indians at San Gregorio. In 1591, Gonzalo de Tapia (1561-1594) and Martín Pérez (1550-1626) established the first missions of the order, outside of urban areas, in Sinaloa, followed by those to Tepehuanes in 1600, Tarahumara in 1608, Mayo-Yaqui in 1614, and Chínipas in the Sierra Madre Occidental between Sinaloa and Durango in 1621. The ministers of this expansion were sincere volunteers who requested mission assignment, aware that, at times, the risk to their life was high, but whose Christian zeal overcame these negative factors. As the mission field developed into the

seventeenth century, geographic and administrative divisions of the vast expanses of northern New Spain developed.

Following the Tepehuán uprisings of the early seventeenth century, northwestern New Spain, initially a single unit of missionary activity in Durango and Sinaloa, became two separate administrative provinces. The crest and eastern slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental developed independently from the Sierra Pacific watershed from Nayarit northwesterly. This latter region comprised the coastal plain along the western slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental, and after 1720 the Mesa del Nayar, to the Gulf of California, from Río Acaponeta northward to San Xavier del Bac (Tucson), along with the peninsula of Baja California from Cabo San Lucas to the Colorado River delta. Administratively, the region was created by Jesuit entry to it in 1591 and continued through the seventeenth century until initial entry to the Californias in 1683. Advancement to Sonora-Arizona in 1687-1711 corresponded with permanent establishments in California from 1697 to 1733, and both areas by 1766 included personnel from the German, Austrian, Bohemian, Italian, Belgo-Flemish, and British provinces, and reflected maximum development of missions and advancement of the Society of Jesus in the region.

Because of international political considerations and defensive security, all secular and ecclesiastical histories relative to the area were subject to censorship and revision. The interior of North America was little known, missions isolated and virtually undefended, with a minimal number of troops spread over thousands of kilometers of arid, rugged terrain. There was a constant threat of expansion by English and French colonies through alliances with Indian groups, particularly the French prior to the War of Spanish Succession and Family Compact of the early eighteenth century. Thus, any geographic information, locations of missions, and data relative to population, troops, problems of supply, and internal problems could be of substantial benefit to the enemy.

Such censorship prior to publication was applied as necessary by religious superiors in matters of dogma and interpretation. Through a brief of Urban VIII (1568-1644; pope, 1623-1644) of 30 October 1625, special papal permission was required for the interpretation of events as miracles, reference

to individuals as venerable, and placing of halos and other hagiographic devices in graphic representations. Political-military censorship was conducted by the Council of the Indies under Royal Order of 26 November 1554 and 22 November 1752, and by the Royal Academy of History, in the case of eighteenth-century chronicles, under Royal Order of 18 October 1755, but collection of data was generally unrestricted.² In the field, Jesuit missionaries maintained detailed diaries, provided frequent progress reports and statistical information, and produced an annual accounting for the provincial. Explorers and participants in exploring expeditions complied with civil and ecclesiastical requisites by maintaining precise and descriptive journals. Reflective of their extensive and diverse academic preparation, the authors often exceeded standards by providing valuable information in natural history, geology, topography, cartography, meteorology, and ethnology. This material was, generally, archived by the province in Mexico, and made available for research to appointed chroniclers who, by the eighteenth century, began to employ the most advanced methodology of the period.

While Sinaloa-Sonora attracted great attention in the seventeenth century, the region was, nevertheless, open to civil-military settlement and, as the mission frontier advanced northward in the final quarter-century, small numbers of miners and stockmen shared the jurisdiction. On the other hand, California, geographically isolated from central New Spain, was a virtual Jesuit dominion, and thus, potentially, a utopian mission field, controlled and free from civil-military interference. The Pericú uprising of 1734-1737 terminated this monopoly, since it was necessary to request outside military assistance. The region was of special interest to its ministers, superiors, archivists, and chroniclers who amassed extraordinary documentation in the brief seventy-five years of the Jesuit mission province.

While relatively few titles, when compared to the astronomical production of Jesuit authors detailed in the monumental

² W. Michael Mathes, "Mission Libraries of Baja California: 1773," *Dieciocho, Hispanic Enlightenment Aesthetics and Literary Theory* 13 (1990):36-49.

bibliography of Augustin (1809-1873) and Aloys (1822-1883) de Backer and revised by Carlos Sommervogel (1834-1902), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Brussels: O. Schepens, 1890-1932), the chronicles of northwestern New Spain are among the most detailed and extensive produced during the Spanish colonial presence in the Western Hemisphere. At times seemingly anachronistic in their piety and judgmental considerations of Indian groups, these works are, nevertheless, of inestimable value as sources for geographical, zoological, botanical, ethnological, and historical information. They have served as the basis of modern classics by Jesuit historians: Gerard Decorme (1874-1965), *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Epoca Colonial, 1572-1767*, 2 vols. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1941); Peter Masten Dunne (1889-1957), *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico* and *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1944, 1952); John Francis Bannon (1905-1986), *The Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620-1687* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1955); John Augustine Donohue (1916-1972), *After Kino: Jesuit Missions in Northwestern New Spain, 1711-1767* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1969); and Charles W. Polzer (b. 1 December 1930), *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), as well as secular writers. Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832-1918) in his pioneering *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* and *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-1889); Herbert E. Bolton (1870-1953) in his *Rim of Christendom, A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Macmillan, 1936); Luis Navarro García in his *Sonora y Sinaloa en el siglo XVII* (Seville: EEHA, 1967); Paul M. Roca in his *Paths of the Padres through Sonora* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1967); Ignacio A. del Río Chavez in his *Conquista y Aculturación en la California Jesuítica, 1697-1768* (Mexico: UNAM, 1984); and Harry W. Crosby in his *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), among others, all relied heavily upon these basic sources.

General Chronicles of New Spain

The protochronicle of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva-España, Dividida en ocho Libros. Tomo Primero* (Mexico: Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1694)³ was the product of the prolific historian, Francisco de Florencia. Born in San Agustín, Florida in 1619 or 1620, Florencia studied at the college of San Ildefonso in México and entered the Society in 1641. He was ordained in 1655, and from that year until 1668 was professor of philosophy and theology at the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. In 1660 he made his profession of four vows, and in 1668 he served as procurator in Madrid and Rome. His *Menologio de los varones más señalados en perfección religiosa, de la Compañía de Jesús, de la Provincia de la Nueva España* (Barcelona: Jacinto Andrés, 1671) appeared during his residence in Europe, and in 1675 he returned to New Spain. In 1680, Florencia was rector of Espíritu Santo college in Puebla, and in 1682, of the Colegio Máximo where he died on 29 June 1695.⁴

His chronicle, planned to cover the first century of Jesuit labors in New Spain, was halted by his death, and covers only 1566 to 1576, from the arrival of Jesuits in Florida through their establishment in Mexico. Florencia was a leading Guadalupanist and published the famed *La Estrella del Norte de México* in 1688, which was followed by his *Origen de los dos célebres santuarios de la Nueva Galicia, Obispado de Guadalupe, en América Septentrional* in 1694. His *Menologio* was continued and augmented, thus becoming the earliest of general works to contain data relative to Sinaloa, Sonora, and Californias.

The *Menologio*, substantially expanded from its original sixty six names, appeared in a second edition in 1747, edited by

³ José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539-1821)* (Santiago de Chile: Casa del Autor, 1908-1912), 1569 (hereafter cited as Medina, *México*).

⁴ Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1966), 6:703-767 (hereafter cited as Zambrano).

Juan Antonio de Oviedo.⁵ Born in Bogotá on 25 June 1670, Oviedo travelled to Guatemala where he earned a doctorate in theology prior to entering the order on 7 January 1690 in Tepotzotlán. Ordained on 21 November 1695, he became a professor in the Colegio Máximo in 1697, and in the Guatemala college in 1703, where he was professed on 25 March 1704. In 1705, he was appointed rector of the Guatemala seminary, and in 1708 of San Ildefonso college, Puebla, where he served until 1711. In 1713 he was provincial procurator and in 1714, again rector of the Guatemala college until 1716 when appointed procurator in Madrid and Rome. In 1719, he was rector of Espíritu Santo; in 1722, visitor of the Philippines; and in 1726, rector of the Colegio Máximo. From 1729 to 1733, he was provincial and in 1733, provost of the Casa Profesa until again appointed provincial from 1736 to 1738. Prefect of the congregation of La Purísima from 1739 to 1757, Oviedo also served at the Colegio Máximo from 1744 to 1747 and again became provost of the Casa Profesa in 1748. Rector of the Colegio San Andrés from 1750 to 1755, he again returned to the Colegio Máximo where he died on 2 April 1757.⁶

The *Menologio* is organized by the date of the individual's death and provides a brief, edifying biography of each religious. Primarily taken from the chronicle of Andrés Pérez de Ribas, missionaries from Sinaloa are: Diego de Vandersipe, 7 January 1651; Antonio de Urquizar (b. 1638), 14 January 1724; Julio Pasqual (Giulio Mattia Pasquali) (b. 1587) and Manuel Martínez, (b. 1600) 1 February 1632; Luis Bonifaz, (b. 1578) 3 February 1644; Brother Francisco de Castro (1560-1627), 5 February, no year; Vicente del Aguila (b. 1581), 5 March 1641; Brother Juan de Escobar (b. 1559), 1 April 1645; Martín Pérez, 24 April 1626; Andrés Egidiano (b. 1619), 12 May 1677; Gonzalo de Tapia, 11 July 1594; Pedro Mendes (Méndez) (b. 1555 or 1558), 22 July 1643; Juan Bautista de Velasco (b. 1564), 29 July 1613; Pedro de Velasco (b. 1581), 26 August 1649; and

⁵ José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana* (Santiago de Chile: Casa del Autor, 1898-1907), 7138 (hereafter cited as BHA). Although no place of publication is given, the style of printing is clearly Mexican.

⁶ José Gutiérrez Casillas, *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (Mexico: Editorial Jus Editorial Tradición, 1966-), 16:246-267 (hereafter cited as Gutiérrez Casillas).

Bartolomé Castaño, who also served in Sonora, 21 December 1672. Sonoran protomartyr, Francisco Javier Saeta, 2 April 1695; California founders, Francisco María Piccolo, 22 February 1729; Juan María de Salvatierra, 18 July 1717; and protomartyrs, Lorenzo Carranco, 1 October 1734; and Nicolás Tamaral (b. 1687), 3 October 1734, are also included.

Although many regional chronicles and edifying biographies were produced prior to the expulsion of 1767 and by exiled Jesuits prior to the independence of Mexico in 1821, further general chronicles did not see print during the colonial period. Publication of these histories, written in the eighteenth century, were the result of efforts of the prolific Mexican secular chronicler, Carlos María Bustamante, to demonstrate the importance of the Society of Jesus in national history and of its reinstatement in Mexico.⁷ Born in Oaxaca in 1774, Bustamante became an attorney before the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara in 1801, and in 1805 published the *Diario de México*. In 1813, he joined insurgent forces of José María Morelos (1765-1815), becoming a brigadier, and editing *El Correo del Sur*. He was deputy for Mexico to the Congress of Chilpancingo and drafted the *Acta Solemne de la Declaración de la Independencia*. Imprisoned in San Juan de Ulúa from 1817 to 1819, he was representative for Oaxaca in the Constituent Congress of 1824, and in 1836 was a member of the Supremo Poder Conservador. A prolific historian of the Insurgency, Empire and early Republic, Bustamante also published works on pre-Cortesian and pre-conquest New Spain, as well as the works of Francisco López de Gómara (1511-1564) and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), producing over eighty titles between 1810 and his death in 1848.

The first work edited and completed by Bustamante was a minimally narrative, factual historical chronology, published as *Los Tres Siglos de México* (Mexico: Imprenta de Luis

⁷ Suppressed in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, the Society of Jesus was restored on 7 August 1814 by Pius VII, and in 1815 Fernando VII readmitted its members to Spanish domains. On 19 May 1816, José M. Castañiza reopened the college of San Ildefonso. However, the Cortes of Cádiz on 17 August 1820 prohibited the formation of Jesuit communities; thus, members of the order were dispersed in Mexico until the college of San Gregorio was reestablished in 1853.

Abadiano y Valdés, 1836),⁸ written in exile by Andrés Cavo and finished in Rome on 1 January 1798. Cavo was born in Guadalajara on 13 February 1739 and entered the order on 14 January 1758 at Tepotzotlán. He was ordained in 1764 and taught in the San Ignacio seminary and San Jerónimo college, Puebla, until assigned to Nayarit missions in 1764. Minister at Santísima Trinidad, he was expelled in 1767 and sailed from Veracruz on 29 November. Exiled to Rome, he died there on 23 October 1803.⁹

Of far greater importance was the monumental *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España que estaba escribiendo el P. Francisco Javier Alegre al tiempo de su expulsión*, 3 vols. (Mexico: J. M. Lara, 1841-1844)¹⁰, initially conceived as an addition to the work of Florencia, but nevertheless commencing similarly in Florida in 1566 and continuing until expulsion. Alegre's work devotes various chapters to mission history in Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias and is based upon manuscript sources and published materials collected prior to expulsion.

Alegre was born in Veracruz on 12 November 1729, studied in San Ignacio college, Puebla, and entered the Society at Tepotzotlán on 19 March 1747. Ordained on 25 September 1754, he taught rhetoric and philosophy at Havana from 1755 to 1762 when the British invasion forced him to flee to Mérida, Yucatán, where he was professed on 15 August 1763, and remained until 1764. In that year, he was assigned to San Ildefonso college and charged with production of a provincial history by Father Provincial Francisco Ceballos. Compilation of the history occupied Alegre until expulsion on 25 June 1767

⁸ Subsequent editions appeared in Mexico in 1852 and Jalapa in 1870. The most modern edition is: *Historia de México*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1949).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-13.

¹⁰ Francisco Javier Alegre. *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*, 4 vols., ed. Ernest J. Burrus and Félix Zubillaga (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1956-1960). See also *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia que tuvo la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, 2 vols., ed. Jacinto Jijón Caamaño (Mexico: Porrúa Hermanos, 1940-1941); and José Mariano Dávila y Arrillaga, *Continuación de la Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España del P. Francisco Javier Alegre*, 2 vols. (Puebla: Colegio Pio de Artes y Oficios, 1888-1889).

which resulted in his arrival in Cádiz in December and in Bologna in September, 1768. There, with his fellow countryman and former classmate Francisco Xavier Clavijero, he formed an academy, and continued preparation of his chronicle, finished in 1771. He died in Bologna on 16 August 1788.¹¹

Chronicles of Sinaloa and Sonora

The first chronicle of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, *Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fee entre gentes las más bárbaras, y fieras del Nuevo Orbe: conseguidos por los soldados de la Milicia de la Compañía de Jesús en las misiones de la Provincia de Nueva-España* (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1645)¹², covered the first half-century of evangelization in Sinaloa and the Sierra Madre Occidental, earliest Jesuit enterprise among unpacified, semi-nomadic groups as a sole means of European settlement. Its author, Andrés Pérez de Ribas, was born in Córdoba in 1576, and, ordained as a secular priest, entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1599. In 1602 he reached New Spain and, having requested service in the missions, in 1604 accompanied Captain Diego Martínez de Hurdaide (1568-1626) to Villa de San Felipe de Sinaloa on the upper Río Sinaloa. He ministered to groups along the river toward the coast at Ahome and Guasave. In the year after his profession of the fourth vow in 1612, he accompanied Martínez de Hurdaide to Tepehuán groups of Sierra de Topia. Two years later at Ahome, Pérez collaborated with the expedition of Nicolás de Cardona¹³ and Juan de Iturbe to the Gulf of California and in 1616 returned briefly to the city of Mexico to obtain licenses for mission expansion to Río Yaqui. Upon his return in the following year, Pérez entered the Yaqui valley at Vícam, began a tour of Yaqui pueblos,

¹¹ Alegre, *Historia*, 1-10.

¹² Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794* (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937), 43 (hereafter cited as Wagner); BHA, 1083.

¹³ See W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Nicolás de Cardona: Geographic and Hydrographic Descriptions of Many Northern and Southern Lands and Seas in the Indies, Specifically of the Discovery of the Kingdom of California (1632)* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974), *passim*.

and conducted missions there until 1620 when he definitively returned to Mexico.

In 1621, Pérez served as rector of the Tepotzotlán novitiate, and from 1626 to 1632 he was rector of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo, a post interrupted from 1632 to 1636 when he served as superior of the Casa Profesa in Mexico. Resuming rectorship in the latter year, in 1637 Pérez was provincial in New Spain until 1641, when he returned to his post at the Colegio Máximo. From 1643 to 1648 he served as procurator in Spain and Rome, and, during this period, saw publication of his monumental chronicle in Madrid. Upon return to Mexico, Pérez occupied the post of provost of the Casa Profesa and began work on his *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de Nueva España*, commissioned by Father General Vincenzo Caraffa (1585-1649; general, 1646-1649) in 1646. The manuscript, pious and edifying, was finished in 1653 but failed to receive superior approval prior to his death on 26 March 1655.¹⁴

The *Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee*, while the first Jesuit chronicle of northwestern New Spain, is also the last of a literary-historical style predominant in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Throughout the work, extensive discussion of the spiritual and miraculous, the triumph of good over evil, and quotations from Holy Scripture in Latin tend to overshadow historical data, and infrequent use of dates requires caution in determining chronology. Divided into two parts, the first of seven books and second of five, Part I is of principal interest for the history of Sinaloa from 1590 to 1620.

In Book I, opening with a survey of geography, climates, natural history, and ethnology as in successive books, Pérez rightly speculates to Asiatic origins and Bering Land Bridge migrations of Paleoindian groups, and, briefly covering Spanish entries prior to the mission period, begins his detailed history in Book II. Labors of Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín

¹⁴ Zambrano, 11:329-442; Peter Masten Dunne, *Andrés Pérez de Ribas. Pioneer Black Robe of the West Coast, Administrator, Historian* (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1951), passim. See *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México de Nueva España*, 2 vols. (Mexico: Imprenta del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1896).

Pérez, expeditions and pacification, and edifying biographies of Tapia and Martínez de Hurdaide are followed in Book III with the missions of Pérez, whose role is treated in a passive manner, and foundations on Río Sinaloa, entry into the mountains in Chínipas, and the edifying life of Brother Francisco de Castro. Book IV covers Río Mayo foundations, labors of Pedro Méndez, and edifying lives and martyrdom of Julio Pascual and Manuel Martínez, and entry to Río Yaqui, first by Martínez de Hurdaide, followed by Jesuits, is treated in Book V, with edifying biographies for Martín Pérez and Hernando de Villafañe (1560-1634). Book VI narrates expansion up the Yaqui to the Névome region, wounding of Diego de Vandersipe, advancement into territory of the Pima Bajo and movement toward Río Sonora, followed by edifying biographies of Vicente del Aguila and Gerónimo Ramírez (c.1577-1621), and Book VII terminates Part I with reflections on mission methods, the nature of Sinaloa Indians, justifications for the mission system, baptisms, marvels and miracles, systems of administration, rules and precepts of Sinaloa missions, and an edifying biography of Juan de Ledesma (1574-1637). Of particular interest is Pérez' recognition of logistic connections between Sinaloa and the Californias and his discussion of plans for California missions initiated by Jacinto Cortés (1598-c.1675).

Part II covers the brief period of incorporation of missions of the Sierra Madre into those of the Sinaloa watershed, as well as historical surveys of Jesuit labors in other regions of New Spain. Book VIII treats initial Jesuit expansion into Sierra de Topia and Durango and lives and martyrdom of Hernando de Santarén (1566 or 1567-1616) and Hernando de Tovar (1581?-16 November 1616), the latter a native of Culiacán; Book IX details resistance of Tepehuanes, campaigns of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Francisco de Urdiñola (1552-1618), edifying life of Pedro Graviña (1576-1635), and Book X covers entry to Tepehuán territory and expansion to Tarahumara, widespread Tepehuán revolt and Jesuit martyrdoms which ended short-lived unification of the area with Sinaloa, and contains edifying biographies of martyrs Juan Fonte (1574-1616), Juan del Valle (1576-18 November 1616), Luis de Alavés (1589-1616), Jerónimo de Moranta (1575-1616), Bernardo de Cisneros (d. 18 November 1616), and Diego de Orozco (d. 18 November 1616). Book XI narrates early history of missions to

Parras and Laguna Grande de San Pedro (La Laguna) in Coahuila and the edifying life and death of Hernán Gómez (1543-1610); and Book XII provides a survey of establishment of the first Jesuit missions to the Chichimeca at San Luis de la Paz in 1594, founding of Tepotzotlán and of the Indian college of San Gregorio, and terminates with entry of the Society of Jesus into North America in Florida in 1566. Although far from being the product of modern historical methodology and frequently difficult to follow chronologically, Pérez de Ribas' work is fundamental for study of the early history of northwestern New Spain and thus has been republished in modern editions.¹⁵

Appearing over a century after publication of the work of Pérez de Ribas, *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús, escrito por un Padre de la Misma Sagrada Religión de su Provincia de México* (Barcelona: Pedro Nadal, 1754)¹⁶, of relatively factual historical presentation and little sanctifying edification, reflected advances in historical attitude, methodology, and writing occurring in the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Edited and published by Francisco Xavier Fluvíá of the Jesuit province of Barcelona,¹⁷ the work is the product of two Jesuit authors of New Spain, José de Ortega and Juan Antonio Balthasar. Ortega, born in Tlaxcala, 15 April 1700, entered the order on 23 April 1717 and was ordained in Puebla on 20 August 1727. In 1729-1730 he served as visitor to San José del Gran Nayar (Nayarit) missions, and from 1732 to

¹⁵ 2 vols. (Mexico: n.p., 1892); *Historia de los Triunfos de N.S. Fe entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Editorial Layac, 1944); *My Life among the Savage Nations of New Spain*, trans. by Tomás Antonio Robertson (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1968); *Páginas para la Historia de Sonora, Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe*, 2 vols. (Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985).

¹⁶ Wagner, 128; BHA, 3651.

¹⁷ F.X. Fluvíá was born at Olot (Gerona), 4 December 1699; he entered the Society on 12 October 1716 and taught theology at the Jesuit college in Barcelona. He was rector of the university at Cervera in 1767 and was exiled to Ferrara where he died on 19 April 1783. He also produced a biography of Saint Ignatius and edited the biography of Juan Bautista Zappa (1651-1694) authored by Miguel Venegas. Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, par les Pères Augustin et Aloys de Backer* (Brussels: O. Schepens, 1890-1932), vol. 4.

1751 was missionary in Jesús, María y José del Gran Nayar. In 1755 he was professor in San Gregorio de Indios college in Mexico, and from 1758 to 1767, chaplain of Espíritu Santo college in Puebla. Expelled in June of that year, he died awaiting transit into exile on 2 July 1768 at Puerto de Santa María.¹⁸

Book I, covering San José del Gran Nayar is the result of both documentary research and personal experience by Ortega. Beginning with geographical and ethnographical description, the history begins with earliest Jesuit attempts at evangelization in 1616, failure of Franciscans under Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús in 1711, and final efforts of Tomás Solchaga (1670-1719) in 1716. With military assistance in halting revolts, general peace was attained by 1724, and the book ends with a discussion of the state of missions and success of the Jesuits.

Books II and III were prepared from the reports of Eusebio Francisco Kino obtained by Balthasar. Johann Anton Balthasar, who was born in Lucerne, Switzerland, 10 April 1692, who entered the Society of Jesus at Novellara, province of Venice, on 26 October 1712. After study at Piacenza, Lombardy, in 1714 and the Collegio Romano in 1716, in 1720 Balthasar travelled to New Spain where he entered the Colegio Máximo, and in 1722 was ordained and assigned to missions in Nueva Vizcaya. Serving at San Andrés de Topia, he was professed in 1730 and in 1736 returned to Mexico to serve as rector of San Gregorio college until 1744. In the latter year, he conducted an inspection of missions in Sonora, and from late 1745 to early 1746, those of California. Upon his return to Mexico, he served as rector of the Colegio Máximo from 1747 to 1750, as provincial from 1750 to 1753, and rector of San Andrés de México college and procurator of missions from 1755 to 1761. A prolific author of sermons and edifying biographies, Balthasar died in Mexico on 23 April 1763.¹⁹

Expansion to Pimería Alta under Eusebio Francisco Kino and the decline of missions following his death is the subject of Book II. Narration of entry to Sinaloa and Sonora, nature of mining in the region, expansion by Kino to the north and

¹⁸ Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:236-237.

¹⁹ Peter Masten Dunne, *Juan Antonio Balthasar, Padre Visitador to the Sonora Frontier, 1744-1745* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1957), 33-43.

northwest after 1687, Pima revolt and martyrdom of Francisco Javier Saeta, exploration of the Colorado River reestablishing the peninsularity of California from 1699 to 1706, and a eulogy of Kino is followed, in Book III, by treatises on attempts to revive the missions after Kino, the work of Jacobo (Jakob) Sedelmayr (1703-1779) and Ignacio Keller (Ignác Köller) (1702-1759) and their explorations in 1736, the diary of Fernando Consag in California to the Colorado River, Apache unrest and the state of missions in 1752. Of fundamental importance for the history of Nayarit, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the *Apostólicos Afanes* has appeared in several modern editions.²⁰

Chronicles written in exile were produced by two German missionaries to Sonora, Ignaz Pfefferkorn and Joseph Och, both of whom began their travel together to the missions of New Spain from Würzburg, via Italy and Spain in 1754. Pfefferkorn was born in Mannheim on 31 July 1725 and entered the order at Middendorf, archdiocese of Cologne, on 21 October 1742. Assigned to missions of Sonora, Pfefferkorn left Mexico City in 1756 for Atí where he was professed in 1760 and served until 1763, and Curcurpe, where he was minister from 1763 to 1767, with short visits to Guevavi. Expelled on 25 August 1767, he suffered in prison in Spain from 1769 to 1777, when he returned to his homeland.²¹

Written in exile, the *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Langenschen Buchhandlung, 1794-1795) provides ample natural history, ethnology, and linguistics of Sonora in a scientific manner, with a brief history of Jesuit missions and a highly descriptive account of the author's own life and times and mission administration between 1756 and 1767. An

²⁰ *Historia del Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa y ambas Californias*, ed. Manuel de Olaguibel (Mexico: Tipografía de E. Abadiano, 1887); *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús* (Mexico: Editorial Layac, 1944). See Juan B. Iguíniz, "Los Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús," in *Disquisiciones Bibliográficas*. Segunda Serie (Mexico: UNAM, 1965), 109-114.

²¹ Ignaz Pfefferkorn. *Sonora, a Description of the Province*, ed. Theodore E. Treutlein (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 1-14.

extraordinarily precise account, Pfefferkorn's work has appeared in two translated editions.²²

Joseph Och, Pfefferkorn's colleague, was born on 21 February 1725 in Würzburg, Franconia, and entered the Society on 26 February 1753. Following arrival in New Spain, in 1756 he was assigned to San Ignacio in Sonora where he was professed in 1757 and served until 1759, and from there ministered in Cumuripa, 1760- 1761, Baseraca, 1761-1764, Bavispe, and Guásavas, 1764-1765, when forced to retire due to severe arthritis. Travelling to Mexico via Chihuahua, Och served in the Colegio Máximo as an invalid from 1766 until expulsion on 1 July 1767. Arriving at Würzburg in 1768, he died at the Jesuit college there in July, 1773. His work, *Herrn P. Joseph Och, Glaubenspredigers der Gesellschaft Jesu in der Provinz Sonora in Neu-Navarra, im Gouvernement Neu-Mexico* appeared in the *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern der spanischen Amerika*, edited by Christoph Gottlieb Murr (Halle: J.C. Hendel, 1809), I:1-292, provides a description of travel to the Sonora missions, a description of them during his years of service, and a detailed account of his expulsion. Somewhat less descriptive than other contemporary accounts, Och's work has only appeared in a modern translation.²³

Edifying biographies of Sinaloa and Sonoran missionaries

The earliest edifying letter from Sinaloa missions appeared in *Raggvaglio D'Alcune Missioni dell'Indie Orientali & Occidentali. Cavato da Alcuni avvisi scritti gli anni 1590 & 1591* (Rome: Apresso Luigi Zannetti, 1592)²⁴ in extracts from correspondence of Martín Pérez who initiated evangelization with Tapia in 1591. Pérez was born in 1558 in the Villa de San Martín, Nueva Galicia, and entered the Society on 13 June

²² Ibid.; *Descripción de la Provincia de Sonora del Padre Misionero Ignacio Pfefferkorn*, 2 vols., trans. Armando Hopkins Durazo (Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1984).

²³ *Missionary in Sonora, The Travel Reports of Joseph Och. S.J., 1755-1767*, trans. and ed. Theodore E. Treutlein (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965), IX-XVII.

²⁴ Wagner, 10.

1577. He was ordained in Tlaxcala in 1588, and taught at the college in Mexico from that year until 1591 when assigned to missions of San Luis de la Paz. He subsequently accompanied Tapia to Sinaloa in the same year and served at San Felipe, Cubirí, Bamoa, and Guasave. From the death of Tapia in 1594 to 1623, Pérez served as superior and visitor of missions of Sinaloa. In 1595, he was professed and was responsible for expansion to Río Mayo. He died in Sinaloa on 24 April 1626.²⁵

Also in the form of extracts, the *Histoire Du Massacre de plusieurs religieux, De S. Dominique, de S. François, Et de la Compagnie de Jésus, Et d'autres Chrestiens, advenu en la rébellion de quelques Indoïs de l'Occident contre les Espagnols* (Valenciennes: De l'Imprimerie de Jean Vervliet, 1620)²⁶, letters by Diego Vandersipe (Jacques Van Der Zype) relative to Sinaloa and the Tepehuán revolt appeared. Born in Ghent, Flanders, on 5 April 1585, Vandersipe initiated his career as a soldier but on 7 December 1609 entered the Society of Jesus. Following study from 1609 to 1616 in Belgium, he travelled to New Spain and continued studies until 1620 when he was assigned to the Névome mission at Onávas on upper Río Yaqui. In 1626, he travelled to Río Mayo where, in an attempt to evangelize the region, he was wounded by an arrow. He continued to serve at San Ignacio de Onávas where he died on 17 February 1651.²⁷

The first monographic work, *Carta del Padre Antonio Bonifacio, Rector del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de México. A los Superiores, y Religiosos de esta Provincia de Nueva España: Acerca de la muerte, virtudes y ministerios del P. Pedro Johan Castini* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1664)²⁸, provided specific data regarding early events in the field. Pedro Juan Castini was born in Plasencia del Po, Parma, in 1587 and entered the order in 1603. After study in Bologna, he travelled to

²⁵ Zambrano, 11:465-528.

²⁶ Wagner, 22b.

²⁷ Gutiérrez Casillas, 14:465-494. Although it contained few details, a brief memorandum for the continuation of missions in Nueva Vizcaya from the procurator in Madrid: *Pedro de Velasco de la Compañía de Jesús, Procurador general de la Provincia de Nueva España dize...* (Madrid, 1641) cited successes in Sinaloa, the problems of Tepehuanes notwithstanding. Wagner, 41; BHA, 6596.

²⁸ Wagner, 50; Medina, *México*, 915.

New Spain in 1616, was ordained in Mexico in 1619, and served as a missionary from 1620 to 1625 in Chínipas and upper Río Fuerte. He was professed in 1622 and transferred to Río Sinaloa missions in 1625, where he served until 1641. In that year, he returned to Mexico to the Casa Profesa and the Colegio Máximo where he was prefect of the congregation of La Purísima. Deeply devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe, he died on 23 September 1663.²⁹

His biographer, Alonso de Bonifacio, born in Brihuega (Guadalajara) in 1592, entered the Society in 1609, and, after travelling to New Spain, studied in San Ildefonso college in Mexico in 1614. From 1626 to 1632, when he returned to teach at San Ildefonso, he served in the Sinaloa missions, and in 1637 he was the rector of the Querétaro college. From 1644 to 1647, he served as vice rector of the Guatemala college, and from 1648 to 1653 he taught and was rector at Espíritu Santo college in Puebla. From 1657 to 1660, Bonifacio was provincial and subsequently rector at the Colegio Máximo. He died on 13 December 1667 in Puebla.³⁰

In 1679, Tomás de Escalante (1643-1708) published the *Breve Noticia de la Vida Exemplar y Dichosa Muerte del Venerable Padre Bartholomé Castaño, de la Compañía de Jesús, Que dió a los Superiores de las Casas, y Colegios desta Provincia de Nueva-España el P. Francisco Ximénez siendo Prepósito de la Casa Profesa desta Ciudad de México en Carta* (Mexico: Juan de Ribera, 1679).³¹ Bartolomé Castaño (Bartolomeu Castanho) was born in Santarem, Portugal, in 1603, and entered the order in Madrid in 1622. He left very shortly for Mexico where he studied and in 1632 was assigned to the Sinaloa missions. In 1634, he replaced Méndez and, moving northward, established missions on Río Mayo in 1638. On 24 August 1642, he was professed and in 1648 moved northward again, founding the mission at Ures prior to his return to Mexico in the following year to serve as prefect of the Casa Profesa. In 1650, he was rector of the Oaxaca college; in 1659, he returned to the Casa Profesa and died on 21 December 1672.³² His biographer, born

²⁹ Zambrano, 5:33-58.

³⁰ Zambrano, 4:201.

³¹ Wagner, 52; Medina, *México*, 1183.

³² Zambrano, 4:750-765.

in Puebla in 1643, entered the Society on 14 December 1658, studied at the Guadalajara college in 1660, and was professed on 2 February 1676. He served in missions to Toluca and Texcoco in 1694, and died at Valladolid (Morelia) on 1 February 1708.³³

Another monographic edifying biography, *Empleos Apostólicos y Religiosas Virtudes del Fervoroso P. Joseph Xavier de Molina. Professo de la Compañía de Jesús. Carta de el P. Provincial Matheo Ansaldo de la mesma Compañía, a los Superiores de su Provincia de México* (Mexico: n.p., 1742)³⁴, provided some information on the life of José Francisco Xavier de Molina, who was born in Antequera, Andalucía in 1694 and entered the order in 1711. In 1723, he conducted missions in Spain, was master of theology in the Granada college in 1728, and in 1737 initiated labors in New Spain at the Casa Profesa. The majority of the text, however, treats travels and great virtues of the missionary to Sonora at Nuestra Señora del Pópulo in 1738, and to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where Molina was also visitor, in 1739. He died 21 April 1741 while serving in Tarahumara at Santo Tomás.³⁵

The author, Mateo (Matteo) Ansaldo y Ferrari, was born in Genoa in 1689, moved to Cádiz in 1693, and entered the Society in Seville in 1707 to serve in the Philippines. Needs for missionaries were greater in New Spain, however, and, after arrival in Mexico in 1708, Ansaldo was assigned to the Tepotzotlán novitiate. In 1711, he studied in the Colegio Máximo, was ordained in 1715, and began his professorate at the Colegio Máximo. He was at the Espíritu Santo college, Puebla in 1723, at that of Oaxaca in 1725, rector of the Zacatecas college in 1733, and master of novices from that year until 1739 at Tepotzotlán, where he served as rector in 1735. From 1739 to 1743, Ansaldo was provincial, and, subsequently, rector of the Colegio Máximo from 1744 until his death there on 18 December 1749.³⁶

The final edifying biography of Sinaloa missions was published almost a century following the death of its author. The *Vida y Heroicas Virtudes del Vble. Padre Pedro de Velasco*,

³³ Gutiérrez Casillas, 15:566-567.

³⁴ Wagner, 114; Medina, *México*, 3639.

³⁵ Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:161-162.

³⁶ Gutiérrez Casillas, 15:144-162.

Provincial que fue de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España (Mexico: María de Ribera, 1753)³⁷, narrated the life of the grandson of Luis de Velasco (Viceroy, 1590-1595). Pedro de Velasco was born in Mexico in 1581, entered the order on 6 March 1597, and from 1605 to 1618 served with Pérez de Ribas on Río Petatlán. In 1613, he moved from Villa de Sinaloa up river to San Ignacio, Gaguameto, and Chicorato, where he ministered from 1616 until his return to Mexico City. In 1618 he was professor of Holy Scripture at San Ildefonso college, where he was rector in 1621. From 1625 to 1631, he was rector at the Valladolid college; from 1631 to 1637, master of novices at Tepozotlán; and from 1637 to 1640, procurator in Rome. Upon his return, he served as rector at San Ildefonso from 1641 to 1646, as provincial from 1646 to 1648, and was at the Colegio Máximo when he died on 26 August 1649.³⁸

Velasco's biographer, Francisco Xavier de Faría, was also a native of New Spain, born in Mexico in 1623. He entered the Society in 1640, was ordained in 1647 while serving as an assistant to the Provincial, Velasco, and in 1648 was assigned to Sinaloa missions where he served on upper Río Sinaloa and on Río Yaqui. During a brief sojourn in Mexico, he wrote the edifying life of his recently deceased superior and returned to mission San Francisco Borja where he ministered until 1659. In 1660, he made his solemn profession and began a career as professor and rector of the colleges of Puebla, 1660, Tepotzotlán, 1662, Oaxaca, 1665, Querétaro, 1668-1678, and Valladolid, where he died on 8 April 1681.³⁹

Studies of Indian languages in Sinaloa and Sonora

Although not strictly chronicles, early studies in Indian languages serve as important ethnographic sources as in the case of Jesuit studies of Sinaloan and Sonoran languages. The earliest of these was a basic grammar manual of Opata, *Arte de la Lengua Teguima vulgarmente llamada Opata* (Mexico: Miguel

³⁷ Wagner, 127; Medina, *México*, 4116.

³⁸ Gutiérrez Casillas, 14:574-648.

³⁹ Zambrano, 6:588-595.

de Ribera, 1702)⁴⁰ composed by Father Natal (Natale) Lombardo, born in Calabria in 1647, who entered the order in Italy in 1663 and travelled to New Spain in 1675. The following year he was assigned to Sonora missions at Arivechi, Bacanora, and Onapa, in 1680 he made his solemn profession, and in 1698 ministered at San Francisco Borja until 1703 when he retired to Puebla where he died, 2 November 1704.⁴¹

Cáhita, language of the Mayo and Yaqui river valley peoples, was first described in a grammar manual, *Arte de la Lengua Cáhita conforme a las Reglas de muchos Peritos en ella. Compuesto por un Padre de la Compañía de Jesús, Missionero de más de treinta años en la Provincia de Cynaloe* (Mexico: Francisco Xavier Sánchez, 1737)⁴² and its companion catechism, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana Traducido en Lengua Cáhita. Compuesto por un Padre de la Compañía de Jesús, Missionero en la Provincia de Cynaloe, la Qual Dedicada Al Patriarcha Señor de los Superiores* (Mexico: Francisco Xavier Sánchez, 1737)⁴³. Although apparently anonymous, authorship of these fundamental works is attributed to Tomás Basilio, born in Palermo, Sicily, in 1580. In 1595, he entered the Society and in 1597 travelled to New Spain. Following his studies, he accompanied Pérez de Ribas to Sinaloa in 1616 and opened Río Yaqui missions the following year. In 1620, he made his profession and in 1622 was wounded by an arrow while ministering among the Névome. Considered the apostle to the Yaquis, he died in Névome on 25 May 1654.⁴⁴

Further Cáhita linguistics were published in *Manual para Administrar a los Indios del Idioma Cáhita los Santos Sacramentos, según la reforma de NN. SS. PP. Paulo V. y Urbano VIII. Compuesto por un Sacerdote de la Compañía de Jesús, Missionero en las de la provincia de Zynaloe* (Mexico: Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno de Doña María de Rivera, 1740)⁴⁵. This missionary's manual was authored by Diego Pablo González, born in Utrera (Sevilla) 25 January 1690, who en-

⁴⁰ Wagner, 73; Medina, *México*, 2075.

⁴¹ Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:64.

⁴² Wagner, 100; Medina, *México*, 3452.

⁴³ Wagner, 101.

⁴⁴ Zambrano, 4:89-104.

⁴⁵ Wagner, 111; Medina, *México*, 3556.

tered the order on 14 April 1710, and was ordained in Mexico, 27 December 1718. In 1720 he was assigned to Tehueco, Sinaloa, where he was professed on 8 September 1728, and from 1729 to 1743 served at San Ignacio, where he was superior of the province from 1730. In 1744 he retired to Espíritu Santo college, Puebla, where he taught until 1755.⁴⁶

Modern imprints of Sinaloa and Sonora chronicles

Interestingly, two of the most important Jesuit chronicles of Sinaloa and Sonora remained in manuscript for many decades following termination. The first of these to be published was *Descripción Geográfica, Natural, y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora, por un amigo de el servicio de Dios y de el Rey Nro. Señor* in *Documentos para la Historia de México, 3a Serie, parte 2* (Mexico: 1856), which, also entitled *Rudo Ensayo*, has appeared in numerous editions. An extraordinarily detailed, still relevant description of geography of the region, rivers from the Yaqui to the Colorado and the Gila, fauna and flora, especially medicinal plants, and ethnology; historically the work treats primarily organization of missions, their present state, the rectorates of San Francisco Borja at Onapa, Santos Mártires del Japón at Oposura, San Francisco Xavier at Banámichi, and Pimería Alta at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and their *rancherías*. Discussion of civil and ecclesiastical administration is included, as are descriptions of civil settlements and presidios.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Gutiérrez Casillas, 15:694.

⁴⁷ The manuscript is found in: Archivo General de la Nación, México. Ramo Historia, Tomo 393. *Rudo Ensayo, tentativa de una prevencional descripción geográfica de la Provincia de Sonora, sus términos y confines* (St. Augustine: Buckingham Smith, 1863); "Rudo Ensayo, by an Unknown Jesuit Padre," trans. Eusebio Guitéras, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 5 (June, 1894):109-264; *Rudo Ensayo, by an Unknown Jesuit Padre* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1951); *Descripción geográfica de Sonora*, ed. Germán Viveros (Mexico: Archivo General de la Nación, 1972); *El Rudo Ensayo: Descripción Geográfica, Natural y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora, 1764*, eds. Margarita Nolasco Armas, Teresa Martínez Peñaloza, and América Flores (Mexico: SEP/INAH, 1977); *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764*, eds. Alberto Francisco

The author, Juan Nentuig (Johannes Nentwig), was born in Glatz Schlesien (Kłodzko, Poland) on 28 March 1713, entered the Society at Glatz, Province of Bohemia, on 28 August 1734, and began his journey to New Spain from Prague through Cádiz in 1749. Reaching Mexico in 1750, Nentuig was assigned to Tubutama and Sáric, Pimería Alta; however, due to revolts, he served in Santa María Suamca from 1751 to 1753. He subsequently ministered at Tecoripa, 1753-1757, and Guásabas, where he was appointed superior of the Rectorate of the Santos Mártires del Japón from 1763, until expulsion on 14 July 1767. Sailing from Guaymas to Matanchén, Nayarit, Nentuig died en route to Guadalajara at Jala, Nayarit, on 11 September 1768.⁴⁸

The second modern publication was the fundamental historical work of Pimería Alta authored by its apostle, Eusebio Francisco Kino. Titled "Favores Celestiales de Jesús y de María Santísima y del Gloriosísimo Apóstol de la Yndias, Francisco Xavier experimentados en las nuevas conquistas y nuevas conversiones del Nuevo Reino de la Nueva Navarra desta América Septentrional incógnita", the manuscript was first published as *Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona*. Edited by Francisco Fernández del Castillo and Emilio Bose. (Mexico: Archivo General de la Nación, 1913-1922), and has undergone numerous editions.⁴⁹

A generally unemotional and informative account, the work is divided into five parts. Part I treats the Pimería missions from arrival of Kino at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in 1687 to 1699 and includes books on the entry to Pimería Alta, visit of Juan María de Salvatierra in 1690-1693, martyrdom of Francisco Xavier Saeta in 1695, exploration northward to the

Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980).

⁴⁸ Pradeau and Rasmussen, op.cit., XIX-XXI.

⁴⁹ The original manuscript is found in: Archivo General de la Nación, México. Ramo Misiones, Tomo 27. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, trans. and ed. Herbert E. Bolton (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1919; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948; New York: AMS Press, 1976); *Crónica de la Pimería Alta Favores Celestiales* (Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985); *Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1989).

Gila and Colorado rivers, and expeditions to California and its geography, from 1695 to 1699. Part II covers expeditions to the Colorado River and Gulf of California with Captain Juan Mateo Manje (1670-1727?) and Salvatierra in 1699 and 1701, search for a land route to California, and arguments for the peninsularity of the region, concluding with a survey of the status of missions in 1702. Apache raids, the status of missions, problems and needs, and new establishments during 1703 and 1704 are included in Part III, and the provincial administration of Salvatierra, interest in supply for California missions, mission development in 1705-1706, and an expedition to the Colorado River in 1706 are treated in Part IV. Part V explains motives of the author and expresses need for continuance of support for missions, with a description of the land and its resources. Finished on 21 November 1708 and dedicated to King Philip V, the work was clearly intended for publication.

Although the ministry and martyrdom of Saeta was later treated in "Favores Celestiales", a separate biography prepared for publication and designed to edify and stimulate assistance for missions, "Inocente, Apostólica y Gloriosa Muerte del Venerable Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta, de la Compañía de Jesús, Misionero en la Nueva Conversión de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora del Caborca de la Pimería, en la Provincia de Sonora," was finished by Kino on 20 September 1695. Francisco Xavier Saeta (Francesco Saverio Saetta) was born in Piazza Armerina, Sicily, on 22 September 1664 and entered the order at Palermo on 25 September 1679. In 1684-1685 he taught grammar at Messina, studied in 1686-1687, taught at Piazza Amerina from 1687 to 1692, and in the latter year journeyed to Veracruz. After ordination in Mexico, he taught at Espíritu Santo, Puebla, in 1693-1694, and was assigned to Pimería Alta missions. Travelling with Kino from Dolores, Saeta was installed as missionary to the Pima Alto at Caborca on Río Altar. Brutally murdered by Pimas on 2 April 1695, his death shocked Kino and became a cause for persistence in the missions. In addition to edifying value, the biography of Saeta, *Vida del P. Francisco J. Saeta, S.J. Sangre Misionera en Sonora*, edited by Ernest J. Burrus (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1961), also provides information on other missionaries, the state of missions, a description of the Rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,

and plans and needs for advancement of missions.⁵⁰

Eusebio Francisco Kino, Apostle to the Pimas and one of the most famous Jesuits in North America, was born in Segno, Trento, Italy, on 15 August 1645, and, following study in Jesuit colleges of Trent and Halle (Austria), entered the Society at Landsberg, Bavaria, on 20 November 1665. Between 1673 and 1677 he studied astronomy, geography, and cartography under famed Jesuit scholars Adam Aigenler (1638-1673) and Heinrich Scherer (1628-1704) at Ingolstadt, and in March 1678, travelled to Genoa and Seville, preparatory to leaving for New Spain in 1680. In Mexico, he was assigned to the opening of missions in California in 1681, and in 1682 travelled to Río Sinaloa, his point of departure. Kino was professed in California in 1684, and following attempts at maintaining the mission of San Bruno between 1683 and 1685, he reluctantly returned to Mexico in 1686. In 1687, he was assigned to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in Sonora and charged with expansion to Pimería Alta. In 1691, he visited missions with Juan María de Salvatierra, in 1694 explored Río Magdalena, and in 1697, the Gila River. From 1698 to 1702, he extensively explored the Colorado River basin and northwestern Sonora, and in 1708 was named rector of Pimería Alta, a post held at the time of his death at Santa María Magdalena on 15 March 1711.⁵¹

Chronicles of California

The undisputed cornerstone of California history is the *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en México año de 1739 por el Padre Miguel Venegas, de la Compañía de Jesús*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Viuda de Manuel Fernández, 1757)⁵² edited by Father Andrés Marcos Burriel

⁵⁰ The manuscript is found in: Biblioteca Nacional, México. An English version is: *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J.*, trans. Charles W. Polzer (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971).

⁵¹ *Kino Escribe a la Duquesa*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1962), 1-20; Herbert E. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, passim.

⁵² Wagner, 132; BHA, 3855. Reprinted in 3 vols. (Mexico: Editorial

(1719-1762).⁵³ The author, Miguel Venegas, born in Puebla, 4 October 1680, entered the order at Tepotzotlán on 30 August 1700. He served as master of classics, rhetoric, and philosophy in the Colegio Máximo until 1724 when, due to poor health, he retired to the Jesuit hacienda of Chicomocelo where, to his death in 1764, he administered accounts and researched in botany, chemistry, and medicine, composed salts and quintessences, and wrote an important pastoral manual, two major biographies, and a history, "Empresas Apostólicas de los PP. Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús, de la Provincia de Nueva España obradas en la conquista de Californias debidas y consagradas al patrocinio de María Santísima, Conquistadora de Nuevas Gentes en su Sagrada Imagen de Loreto", dedicated to the Marqués de Villapiente on 5 August 1739. Precluded by poor health from his desire to serve in California missions, Venegas devoted his greatest effort to this history, based upon published works, compiled letters, reports, diaries, and questionnaires sent to missionaries in the field, reflecting an extraordinarily high level of modern historical methodology in its preparation.⁵⁴

Divided into ten books, "Empresas Apostólicas" was far too detailed in relation to defenses in California to permit publication in an unedited version, and thus was filed until 25

Layac, 1944.); *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J.*, 5 vols., ed. W. Michael Mathes, Vivian C. Fisher, and E. Moisés Coronado (La Paz: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, 1979). The original manuscript is in The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. M-M 1701.

⁵³ Born in Buenache de Alarcón (Cuenca), 29 November 1719, Burriel entered the order in Madrid on 7 December 1731 and continued his studies at Alcalá de Henares and Murcia. In 1743, he was professor of grammar in Buenache, and, after a short retirement due to poor health, he returned to Madrid in 1745 as professor in the Colegio Imperial and director of the seminary for nobles in 1746. Professor of philosophy at Alcalá de Henares in 1747, he became a well-known intellectual of the Spanish Enlightenment. In 1749, he was assigned to the organization of the royal archives and libraries and also began the work of editing. Curiously, he did not attempt to correspond with Venegas because he did not know if he was living. W. Michael Mathes, *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J. Historical-Biographical Introduction* (La Paz: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, 1978), 10-11.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-9.

March 1749 when it was submitted by the Provincial, Juan Antonio Balthasar, to the Procurator General of the Indies, Pedro Ignacio Altamirano (1693-1770), in Madrid. In 1750, the manuscript was delivered to Burriel for editing, and following additions of new material relative to the period which had transpired since Venegas had finished it and geographical-cartographical appendices, the work appeared in printed form in 1757. Very modern in its narrative, *Noticia de la California* in Volume I precisely details geography, natural history, ethnology, and the era of discovery and exploration prior to narrating the establishment and development of Jesuit missions in Volume II. Appendices, with accounts from earlier published works, English voyages, and maps, the first produced apart from atlases to depict the region, comprised Volume II. As the first true composite view of California to appear in print, the *Noticia de la California* was quickly translated in an abridged form into English, and thence into French, German, and Dutch.⁵⁵

The earliest personal account of life in California was the *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien* (Mannheim: Churfürstl. Hof- und Academie-Buchdrucker, 1771)⁵⁶ written in exile by Juan Jacobo (Johann Jakob) Baegert. Born in Sélestat (Schlettstadt), Alsace, 22 December 1717, Baegert entered the order at Mainz on 13 September 1736, and in 1740 taught at the Mannheim and Hagenau colleges. In 1749 he left for Spain en route to New Spain where he arrived in August, 1750. In 1751 he was assigned to San Luis Gonzaga where he served until expulsion in 1767, and in 1754 he was professed at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. In 1769, Baegert was spiritual director at the Jesuit college in Neustadt, Palatinate, where he died on 29 September 1772.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Wagner, 132; *A Natural and Civil History of California*, 2 vols. (London: J. Rivington and J. Fletcher, 1759; Ann Arbor: Readex Microprint, 1966); *Histoire Naturelle et Civile de la Californie*, 3 vols. (Paris: Durand, 1767); *Natürliche und bürgerliche Geschichte von Californien* (Lemgo: Meyersche Buchhandlung, 1769-1770); *Natuurlyke en burgerlyke historie van California* (Haarlem: Johannes Enschede, 1761-1762. 2 vols.).

⁵⁶ Wagner, 57. A second Mannheim edition appeared in 1772.

⁵⁷ Benno Francisco Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account of the Expulsion of the*

The *Nachrichten* is a highly descriptive, factual dissertation on geography, natural history, and ethnology of the region served by Baegert, and contains the only known records of the Guaycura language. Very little detail on the history of missions is provided; however information relative to mission administration, churches and temporalities, the expulsion, as well as refutations of popular anti-Jesuit concepts of the missions is included. Baegert's objectivity is unsurpassed by other chronicles of the period and is extraordinarily descriptive of even the most repulsive aspects of Guaycura culture.⁵⁸

With a scope narrower than that of his contemporaries, Benno Francisco (Franz Benno) Ducrue (1721-1779), with relatively little emotion chronicled the respectful expulsion from the peninsula of California in "Relatio expulsionis Societatis Jesu ex Provincia Mexicana, et maxime e California, a. 1767, cum aliis scitu dignis notitiis" which appeared in: Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur* (Nuremberg: Johann Eberhard Zeh, 1784.), pp. 217-267.⁵⁹ Ducrue, born in Munich, Bavaria, on 10 June 1721, entered the Jesuit province of Upper Rhein on 28 September 1738. In 1750 he travelled from Spain to New Spain, where he was assigned to the California missions. Serving at La Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Huasinapí, he made his profession at

Jesuits from Lower California, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1967), 13-15.

⁵⁸ Translations: *Noticias de la Península Americana de California*, eds. Paul Kirchoff and Pedro R. Hendrichs (Mexico: Antigua Librería de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1942); eds. W. Michael Mathes, Raúl Antonio Cota, and Pedro R. Hendrichs (La Paz: Gobierno del Estado de Baja California Sur, 1989); Charles Rau, *Articles on anthropological subjects, contributed to the Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution from 1863 to 1877* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1882); *Observations in Lower California*, eds. M.M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

⁵⁹ A German translation: Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des Spanischen Amerika*, 2 vols. (Halle: Joh. Christian Hendel, 1809-1811); a French translation: Auguste Carayon, *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus* (Poitiers: n.p., 1867); an English/Spanish translation: *Decrue's Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California (1767-1769)*, ed. J. Burrus (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1967).

Loreto on 2 February 1756 and was superior at the time of expulsion. Departing from Veracruz in April, 1768, he was sent to Munich in 1769 where he wrote his account, sent to Murr on 27 August 1778, a few months prior to his death on 30 March 1779.⁶⁰

Utilizing information gleaned from Venegas-Burriel, fellow exile Lucas Ventura,⁶¹ and especially the notes of Miguel del Barco, Francisco Javier Mariano Clavijero, unable to obtain the work of Baegert, produced his *Storia della California*, 2 vols. (Venice: Modesto Fenzo, 1789)⁶² during the final decade of his life in Bologna. Clavijero was born in Veracruz 9 September 1731, studied in San Jerónimo and San Ignacio colleges in Puebla, and entered the order on 13 February 1748 at Tepotzotlán, where he was a friend of Alegre. After study at San Ildefonso college in Puebla and the Colegio Máximo, he was ordained on 13 October 1754 and continued study at San Ildefonso and Espíritu Santo from 1754 to 1756. Professor of theology, he served at the Casa Profesa and San Ildefonso in 1757, and, after requesting missions in California, in 1758 was assigned to San Gregorio Indian college in Mexico where he studied antiquities and the Náhuatl language. In 1762, he was assigned to San Francisco Xavier Indian college in Puebla, and the following year to that of Valladolid. He was professed in Guadalajara on 2 February 1765, and taught at the college of Santo Tomás there from 1766 until expulsion on 25 June 1767. Clavijero arrived at Cádiz in March, 1768, was transferred to Ferrara in October, and reached exile in Bologna in June, 1770. There he became a major intellectual figure, working on his *Storia Antica del Messico* finished in 1780-81, and collaborating with Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809) on his catalogue of world languages. Although begun in 1779, the *Storia de la California*, published by his brother Ignacio, did not appear until after Clavijero's death at Bologna on 2 April 1787.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ducrue's Account*, 7-9.

⁶¹ Born in Zaragoza, 2 May 1727, Ventura entered the Society at Tarragona on 25 November 1749 and, as a novice, travelled to New Spain in 1750. Finishing his studies at Tepotzotlán, the Colegio Máximo, and Espíritu Santo in Puebla, he was assigned to California in 1758 where he was professed in 1765 and served as treasurer of the missions until the expulsion. He died in Bologna, 9 December 1793. *Ducrue's Account*, 23.

⁶² Wagner, 172.

⁶³ Charles E. Ronan, *Francisco Javier Clavijero, S.J. (1731-1787) Figure*

Clavijero's interest in the California enterprise may well have begun at Tepotzotlán where he knew the retired missionaries, Everardo (Eberhard) Hellen (1679-1757) and Juan Bautista Luyando (1700-1757) and, as was the case of Venegas, hoped to serve in the field. While in Guadalajara, he consulted manuscripts in Jesuit archives, including the account of the Pericú uprising by Sigismundo Taraval. As his colleague Barco, Clavijero's intent was to correct and add to the work of Venegas, and refute anti-Jesuit propaganda and misinformation promulgated by Protestant groups in Europe. In factual narrative, the *Storia* treats natural history and ethnology in Book I, discovery, exploration, and the beginning of missions in Book II; in Book III, the history of missions, administrative system and methodology, expulsion, and some inaccurate information relative to Franciscan and Dominican succession in the missions is covered. Clearly a synthesis and weakened due to inaccessibility of sources, Clavijero's work is highly literary but contributive to post-1739 historiography, and is free from concern over censorship based on security. Shortcomings notwithstanding, *Storia della California* has undergone translations to Spanish and English in various editions, one of which, an extract, appeared in Mexico in 1816 on the occasion of an event which would have caused great emotion among exiled chroniclers had they lived to witness it.⁶⁴

To demonstrate the importance of the Society of Jesus in the development of New Spain, and to commemorate its restoration by Pope Pius VII on 7 August 1814, Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador published *Los Jesuitas Quitados y Restituídos al Mundo. Historia de la Antigua California* (Mexico: Mariano Ontiveros, 1816).⁶⁵ Born in Toluca in 1756, Fernández de San Salvador was a highly regarded attorney of the Audiencia of Mexico, served as rector of the Royal and

of the Mexican Enlightenment, his life and works (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1977), 1-54, 88-95, 105, 297-332.

⁶⁴In Spanish: *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California* (Mexico: Juan R. Navarro, 1852; Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, 1933; Editorial Porrúa, 1970, 1975); in English: *The History of Lower California*, eds. Sara E. Lake and A.A. Gray (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937; Riverside: Manessier Publishing Co., 1971)

⁶⁵Medina, *México*, 1174.

Pontifical University on three occasions and drafted its constitutions, and, although the father of a respected insurgent killed in 1813, was a strong anti-insurgent and anti-Freemason. Active nonetheless in matters of jurisprudence in the independent Republic, he died in Mexico in 1842.

Edifying letters and biographies of California missionaries

After many years of civil and ecclesiastical attempts to establish a settlement on the California peninsula, apparent success in 1697 at Nuestra Señora de Loreto was cause for great elation by its founder, Juan María de Salvatierra. Shortly following the event, *Copia de Quatro Cartas de el Padre Juan María de Salvatierra de la Compañía de Jesús, Missionero que fue en la Tarahumara, Visitador de las Misiones, de donde le sacó la obediencia para Rector de el Collegio de Guadalajara, y de aquí para Rector, y Maestro de Novicios de el Collegio de Tepotzotlán, de donde salió siendo actual Rector para solicitar medios para la empresa de Californias donde está oy día* (Mexico: Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1698)⁶⁶, appeared containing letters dated 28, 26, and 27 November 1697, respectively, at Loreto. The first, directed to José Sarmiento y Valladares, Conde de Moctezuma (b. 1643; Viceroy, 1697-1701), reporting the founding, expressed need for aid in defense and supply, and the second, directed to his wife, Duquesa de Sesar, treated more tender aspects of conversions and importance of donations for support. The third letter, lengthy and detailed relative to exploration and founding, was directed to Juan de Ugarte (1662-1730), Salvatierra's procurator in Mexico and principal solicitor for the Pious Fund which supported the enterprise, stating strong need for continued donations and endowments, and the fourth expressed deep gratitude to Father Juan Caballero y Ocio (1644-1707) of Querétaro, principal benefactor of the fund whose generosity made the mission possible.

⁶⁶ Wagner, 69; Medina, *México*, 1712. Reprinted in: *Misión de la Baja California*, ed. Constantino Bayle (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1946); *Juan María de Salvatierra Selected Letters about Lower California*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971).

The purpose of the publication was evident through a post-script by Ugarte stating the importance and need of continued donations.

Juan María de Salvatierra (Gianmaria Salvaterra) was born in Milan, 15 November 1648, and, after instruction in the Jesuit college at Parma, entered the Society at Genoa on 10 July 1668. He was ordained in 1675, and in the same year with Juan Bautista Zappa (1651-1694), journeyed to Spain and sailed from Cádiz for New Spain on 11 July. In Mexico, Salvatierra studied in the Colegio Máximo, taught rhetoric in Espíritu Santo, Puebla, in 1677, and from 1678 to 1680 returned to study at the Colegio Máximo. In the latter year, he was assigned to Tarahumara and Chínipas missions, and there founded Santa Teresa de Guazapares. At Santa Inés de los Chínipas, he made his profession in 1684, and in 1690 he travelled to Pimería Alta where he conducted a visit of missions with Kino. He returned to Mexico in 1691, was rector of the Guadalajara college in 1693, and occupied the same post at Tepotzotlán where he planned the opening of a California mission and began collection of alms, the Pious Fund, in 1696. Sailing for California in 1697, Salvatierra established the first permanent European settlement in the region, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, on 25 October. From that base he explored, made new foundations, and administered the supply system until 1704 when he was appointed provincial. Returning to California in 1706, he labored in the missions until 1717 when he was called to Mexico. Leaving Loreto on 31 March, the Apostle of the Californias died at Guadalajara on 19 June 1717.⁶⁷

Shortly following the publication of Salvatierra's first four letters, a second group of letters, detailing early months of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and again designed to raise alms, *Copia de cartas de Californias escritas por el P. Juan María de Salvatierra y Francisco María Piccolo, su fecha de 9. de Julio deste año de 1699* (Mexico: Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1699)⁶⁸ appeared. Three letters are from Salvatierra, two undated and one of 9 July 1699, and the fourth is dated 2

⁶⁷Burrus, *Juan María de Salvatierra*, 18-168.

⁶⁸Wagner, 71; Medina, *México*, 1747.

July 1699, authored by Francisco María (Francesco Maria) Piccolo.

Piccolo, born in Palermo, Sicily, 25 March 1654, entered the order at the college there on 1 November 1673. After study and teaching at Marsala, Módica, and Malta, in 1682 he departed for missions of New Spain via Rome and Seville, and in Mexico in 1684 he was assigned to Jesús Carichic in Tarahumara. There he made his profession in 1689, and, a close friend of Salvatierra, Piccolo joined him in December, 1697 at Nuestra Señora de Loreto. In 1699 he founded San Francisco Xavier Viggé-Biaundó, and, as representative of California missions, travelled to Guadalajara and Mexico for aid. From 1702 to 1704, he continued to serve in California; in 1704-1705 was in Guaymas overseeing provisioning of new missions, and from 1705 to 1709 was visitor to Sonora. Upon his return to California, from 1709 to 1720 he ministered at Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, and was superior of missions at Loreto from 1720 to his death on 22 February 1729.⁶⁹

While in Guadalajara in 1702, Piccolo prepared a lengthy report on development of California missions since 1697, and appealed for continued financial aid for new establishments, supply, and ships. Published in May, 1702, the *Informe del Estado de la Nueva Cristiandad de California, que pidió por Auto, La Real Audiencia de Guadalaxara, obediciendo la Real Cédula de N. Rey y Senor D. Felipe V. Fecha en Madrid, a 17 de julio de 1701* was produced by an unnamed printer in Mexico⁷⁰ and became a major document relative to the initial success in establishing a foothold in California, appearing in numerous editions and translations.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Francisco María Piccolo, *Informe del estado de la Nueva Cristiandad de California, 1702, y otros documentos*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1962), 2-13.

⁷⁰ Wagner, 74; Medina, *México*, 2083.

⁷¹ Ibid.; *Cartas Edificantes, y Curiosas, escritas de las Misiones Estrangeras, por Algunos Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Diego Davin (Madrid: Viuda de Manuel Fernández, 1753-1757); *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Chez N. Le Clerc, 1705), 5:248-187; (Paris: J.G. Merigot, 1780-1783; Chez J. Vernarel, 1819); *Recueil de Voyages au Nord* (Amsterdam: Jean Frederic Bernard, 1715-1737), 3:268-300; *Lettres Curieuses sur l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris: Impr. de J.B. Gros, 1845); *Der*

Piccolo was the principal subject of an edifying letter by the Provincial, Juan Antonio Balthasar, *Carta del P. Provincial Juan Antonio Balthassar, en que da noticia del exemplar vida, religiosas virtudes, y apostólicos trabajos del fervoroso missionero el Venerable P. Francisco María Pícolo* (Mexico: n.p., 1752)⁷²; however, in addition to eight chapters of biography and two chapters extolling his virtues, brief lives of the protomartyrs of California, Lorenzo Carranco and Nicolás de Tamaral were appended. The former was born in Puebla on 12 August 1695, entered the Society on 4 April 1720 at Tepetzotlán, and, following study at Espíritu Santo college in Puebla, was assigned to Santiago in California. Tamaral, born 24 February 1686 in Seville, entered the order on 3 October 1704, and upon arrival in New Spain continued study in the Colegio Máximo. In 1717 he was assigned to California to aid Piccolo and Juan de Ugarte, in 1719 he founded Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó, and in 1730, San José del Cabo. Both missionaries were the initial victims of the Pericú uprising of 1734-1737, brutally murdered at their missions on 1 and 3 October 1734, respectively.

A brief summary of the California enterprise, a description of the area, discovery, mission expansion, and Pericú revolt to 1736 was presented by the Procurator General of the Indies to the Council of the Indies in 1737 as: "Señor. El Padre Gaspar Rodero, de la Compañía de Jesús, Procurador General de Indias, en cumplimiento de lo mandado por V. Mag. sobre Californias, dice."⁷³ Rodero, a notable supporter of California missions, was born in Madrid on 6 January 1669, entered the Society on 1 January 1683, and was professed in 1702. He was rector of San Ildefonso college in 1708, of that of San Andrés in

neue Weltbott, mit allerhand Nachrichten der Missionärs der Societät Jesus aus beyden Indien und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern von 1641-1757, 5 vols., ed. Joseph Stöcklein (Augsburg; Graz: 1728-1761); "An Extract of a Memoir, concerning the Discovery of a Passage by Land to California," *Philosophical Transactions, Royal Society of London* (November-December, 1708):232-240; *Travels of the Jesuits, into Various Parts of the World* (London: T. Piety, 1762), 1:395-408; *Informe on the New Province of California, 1702*, ed. George P. Hammond (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967).

⁷² Wagner, 124; Medina, *México*, 4069.

⁷³ Wagner, 98.

1711, and prefect of the Casa Profesa in 1714. In 1715, he was elected provincial and, on terminating that office, became procurator in Rome from 1720 to 1723. In 1724, he returned to the Casa Profesa as vice prefect and in 1725 was reappointed provincial until appointment as General Procurator of the Indies in Madrid on 13 June 1736, the office held on his death in Zamora on 5 December 1742.⁷⁴

The death of doña Gertrudis de la Peña, Marquesa de las Torres de Rada, niece of the order's principal benefactor, José de la Puente y Peña, Marqués de Villapiente, and benefactress, through inheritance, of California missions, resulted in two funeral sermons eulogizing this generosity and the importance of the family's vast endowments. *La Muger Fuerte. Sermón Panegyrico y Funeral que en solemnes honra que la Casa Profesa de la Compañía de Jesús de México celebró a su insigne bienhechora y patrona de su Iglesia la Mui Ilustre Señora Marquessa de las Torres de Rada, la Señora Doña Gertrudis de la Peña* (Mexico: n.p., 1739) was preached by the former Provincial, Juan Antonio de Oviedo (1670-1757), and a poetic eulogy in Latin and Castilian, *Llanto de la Piedras En la sentida muerte de la más generosa Peña. Debidas honras, y solemnes Exequias, Que a la mui Ilustre Señora Marquesa de las Torres de Rada, La Señora Doña Gertrudis de la Peña* (Mexico: Imprenta de D. Francisco Xavier Sánchez, 1739)⁷⁵ was read by Francisco Xavier Carranza (1703-1769), also of the Casa Profesa.⁷⁶

Another brief edifying biography, *Carta del P. Fernando Consag de la Compañía de Jesús, Visitador de las Misiones de Californias, a los Padres Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva España*, dated San Ignacio, 1 October 1748, appeared without place or printer.⁷⁷ A life of Antonio Tempis, who was born 25

⁷⁴ Gutiérrez Casillas, 15:452.

⁷⁵ Medina, *México*, 3541. Both eulogies appeared together and also as separate titles.

⁷⁶ Carranza was born in Mexico, 19 February 1703; entered the Society, 17 April 1718; ordained in 1729; professor in the college of Mexico, 1730. Professed, 15 August 1736, and assigned to the Casa Profesa. Professor in the college of San Andrés in 1744, prefect of that of San Ignacio of Querétaro, 1748, and of Celaya, 1755. In 1767 he was in the college of San Andrés and expelled to Genoa where he died in 1769. Gutiérrez Casillas, 15:424-425.

⁷⁷ Wagner, 120; Medina, *México*, 3886. Translated in M.D. Krmpotic,

June 1703 in Olmütz, Moravia, entered the Society at Brunn on 9 October 1720, and travelled to New Spain in 1736. Following suppression of the Pericú uprising in 1737, he was assigned to Santiago where he was professed the following year, and died on 6 July 1746. The author, Fernando Consag (Ferdinand Konsčák), among the most notable California missionaries, was born 2 December 1703 at Varaždin, Croatia, entered the order at Trenčín, Slovakia, and was ordained in Graz, Austria. He taught in Zagreb in 1726, Buda in 1728, and left for Spain in 1729. Following arrival in Mexico in 1730, in 1732 he was assigned to the then northernmost California mission, San Ignacio de Cadacaamán. In 1746, he explored to the Colorado River delta, in 1751 through the southern Sierra San Pedro Mártir and established the site of Santa Gertrudis, founded the following year by Jorge (Georg) Retz (1717-1773), and in 1753 he conducted an expedition to the Gulf of California and Bahía de los Angeles. In 1758, Consag was appointed superior of missions, and died the following year on 10 September at San Ignacio.⁷⁸

Principal supporter of the early months of Loreto, later serving in missions, and founder of California agriculture, Juan de Ugarte is subject of the edifying biography, *Vida y Virtudes de el Venerable, y Apostólico Padre Juan de Ugarte de la Compañía de Jesús, misionario de las Islas Californias* (Mexico: Imprenta del Real y Mas Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1752)⁷⁹ by Juan Joseph de Villavicencio. Ugarte, born 22 July 1662 in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, entered the Society at Tepotzotlán on 14 August 1679. He studied in the Colegio Máximo in 1683, and three years later was professor of grammar in the Zacatecas college. In 1688, he returned to study at the Colegio Máximo and at San Ildefonso of Puebla. On 2 February 1696, he made his profession, and served as professor at the Colegio Máximo while collecting alms for his friend Salvatierra's California mission. In 1700, he joined Salvatierra and Piccolo in Loreto, and in 1708 served at San Javier. In

Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konscak, S.J., 1703-1759, an Early Missionary in California (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1923), 24-45.

⁷⁸ Krmpotic, op. cit., 1-9; Francisco Zevallos, *The Apostolic Life of Fernando Consag, Explorer of Lower California*, ed. Manuel P. Servín (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1968), 47; passim.

⁷⁹ Wagner, 126; Medina, *México*, 4105.

1719, he was visitor, and, as superior, was at Loreto in 1729. He died in San Javier on 28 December 1730.⁸⁰

The biography, approximately fifty percent factual and fifty percent descriptive of edifying virtues, was written by a native of Mexico, born 15 December 1709, who entered the order on 28 July 1724. In 1730, Villavicencio taught grammar at the Valladolid college, was ordained on 11 September 1735 in Puebla, served as minister at Tepetzotlán in 1737, and was professed on 2 February 1743. He was professor of philosophy at the Colegio Máximo in 1744, and in San Andrés college from 1748 to 1751. He was provincial procurator in 1755, visitor in 1756, and rector of the Valladolid college in 1761. In 1764, he went to Rome as procurator, and in 1767 returned to the Casa Profesa where he was ordered expelled. On 25 October 1767, Villavicencio became one of some thirty Jesuits who died at Veracruz, awaiting passage into exile.⁸¹

By far the most extensive biographical work on a missionary of northwestern New Spain was that of Juan María de Salvatierra, *El Apostol Mariano Representado en la vida del V. P. Juan María de Salvatierra*, dedicated to Our Lady of Loreto, by Miguel Venegas (Mexico: Imprenta de Doña María de Ribera, 1754)⁸² which was initiated by order of Alejandro Romano (1664-1724), procurator of the Californias at the time of Salvatierra's death in 1717. Nevertheless, most documentation had been removed to Rome for use by Guiseppe Antonio Patrignani (1659-1733) in his *Menologio di pie memorie d'alcuni Religiosi della Compagnia de Gesù*, 4 vols. (Venice: Niccolo Pezzana, 1730); thus, Venegas was required to compile new material and derive much data from sources for his "Empresas Apostólicas". The initial manuscript was so lengthy that it required editing, a task assigned by the Provincial, Juan Antonio Balthasar, to Juan Antonio de Oviedo, who maintained

⁸⁰ Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:589-90.

⁸¹ Ibid., 16:654-655.

⁸² Wagner, 130; Medina, *México*, 4210. Reprinted in *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J.*, eds. Mathes, Coronado, and Fisher, vol. 5; and translated: *Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, Missionary in the Province of New Spain, and Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias*, ed. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1929).

the usual balance of fifty percent factual biography and fifty percent accounting of examples of piety.⁸³

The final biography of a California missionary produced prior to expulsion was that of Fernando Consag, *Carta del Padre Provincial Francisco Cevallos sobre la Apostólica Vida, y Virtudes del P. Fernando Konsag, insignes missionero de la California* (Mexico: El Real, y Más Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1764)⁸⁴ which, in the factual section, treats primarily of his life following arrival at San Ignacio in 1733, and expeditions of 1746, 1751, and 1753. The second half recounts Consag's religious virtues and outstanding examples of piety. Francisco Ceballos was born in Oaxaca, 7 October 1704, entered the Society on 1 June 1720, and studied at the Colegio Máximo prior to ordination in Puebla on 8 September 1731. He was professor of philosophy and theology at the Colegio Máximo from 1734 to 1739, at San Francisco Xavier seminary in Querétaro, and again at the Colegio Máximo from 1744 to 1755. He served as procurator in Rome, 1757-1760, and, following his return to the Casa Profesa, was appointed provincial from 1761 to 1763. At the time of expulsion in 1767, he was rector of Colegio San Andrés and died in exile in Bologna, 27 February 1770.⁸⁵

Modern imprints of California Chronicles

The first modern publication of a Jesuit manuscript chronicle appeared in translation as *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737, as described by Father Sigismundo Taraval* (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1931), translated and edited from the original in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, translator of the Venegas biography of Salvatierra.⁸⁶ Sigismundo Taraval was

⁸³ Mathes, *Obras Californianas: Historical-Biographical Introduction*, 11-12.

⁸⁴ Wagner, 145; Medina, *México*, 4928. Translated in: Krmpotic, op.cit., 135-165; Servín, ed., op.cit., passim.

⁸⁵ Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:683-684.

⁸⁶ Reprinted: New York: Arno Press, 1967. A Spanish edition edited by E. Moisés Coronado is in press in La Paz, Baja California Sur.

born at Lodi, Milan, on 27 October 1700 and entered the Society on 31 October 1718 at Toledo. Following study at Alcalá de Henares, he travelled to Mexico where he was ordained at Tepetzotlán on 2 February 1724. In 1730 he was assigned to La Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó, and in 1732 served at San Ignacio. The following year he founded Santa Rosa de las Palmas (Todos Santos) from which he escaped during the Pericú uprising of October, 1734. Following pacification of the southern peninsula in 1737, Taraval served at San José del Cabo until 1751, when he retired to Guadalajara. He was vice rector of the Guadalajara college from 1760 to his death in 1763.⁸⁷ The account chronicles the Pericú uprising from July, 1734 to January, 1737, murders of Carranco and Tamaral, retreat to Loreto, decline of the southern peninsula, and military campaigns employed in quelling rebellion in a very factual manner.

The most recent chronicle to see print is the extremely important *Historia Natural y Crónica de la Antigua California* of Miguel del Barco, edited by Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico: UNAM, 1973, 1988) from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome.⁸⁸ Primarily correcting and adding to the published Venegas-Burriel, *Noticia de la California*, Barco also added new material on events occurring between 1738, the year prior to his arrival in California and of the termination of Venegas' manuscript, and his expulsion in 1767. Of particular importance are sections relative to natural history, ethnography, Cochimí language, and explorations by Wenceslaus Linck and Fernando Consag.

Miguel del Barco was born in Casas de Millán (Cáceres) on 13 November 1706 and entered the order at Villagarcía de

⁸⁷ Taraval, op.cit., 9-18; Gutiérrez Casillas, 16:559-560.

⁸⁸ A Spanish edition is: *Historia Natural de la Antigua California* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1989). An abbreviated portion appeared as: *The Natural and Human History of Baja California*, ed. Homer Aschmann (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966). Partial translations are: Mauricio J. Mixco, *Cochimí and Proto-Yuman* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978); *The Natural History of Baja California*, trans. Froylán Tiscareño (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1980); *Ethnology and Linguistics of Baja California*, trans. Froylán Tiscareño (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1981).

Campos, Castile, on 18 May 1728. After study at Salamanca, he travelled to New Spain in 1735 and continued studies in the Colegio Máximo and Espíritu Santo college, Puebla. Ordained on 16 August 1736, Barco was assigned to San Francisco Xavier Viggé-Biaudó in 1739, where he began the construction of a massive stone church. He made his profession on 15 August 1747, was visitor in 1751, superior of missions from 1748 to 1755, again visitor in 1761, and was rector of California missions from 1764 until expulsion. Sailing from Loreto on 3 February 1768, Barco reached Cádiz on 8 July 1768 and was exiled to Bologna in the following year. There he provided notes for Francisco Javier Clavijero and assisted Hervás y Panduro in the compilation of his catalogue of the world's languages while preparing his own manuscript. He died at Bologna on 24 October 1790.⁸⁹

Although Jesuit historiography of northwestern New Spain may possibly enjoy the most voluminous documentation of any region of the Americas, this has, by no means, been exhausted by researchers. Extensive holdings of the Archivo General de la Nación⁹⁰ and Archivo Franciscano of the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico⁹¹, Jesuit and Vatican repositories in Rome⁹², and The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley⁹³, all possess numerous recorded but still unpublished diaries, reports, and letters. As would be expected, a great number of the prime chronicles have been published in recent years. However, if many missionary letters and the bibliog-

⁸⁹ Barco, op.cit., XVII-XXXI; Ducrue, op.cit., 12-13.

⁹⁰ Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Material for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1913); Archivo General de la Nación, *Serie Guías y Catálogos*, Californias 3, 2 vols., Misiones 16, Historia 28, 6 vols., Documentos Sobre el Noroeste de México 49, 2 vols. (Mexico: 1977-1980); Archivo General de la Nación, *Índice del Ramo de Provincias Internas*, 5 vols. (Mexico: 1967-1977).

⁹¹ Ignacio del Río, *Guía del Archivo Franciscano de la Biblioteca Nacional de México* (Mexico: UNAM, 1975).

⁹² Eulalia Guzmán, *Manuscritos sobre México en Archivos de Italia* (Mexico: Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, 1964).

⁹³ George P. Hammond, *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library. Mexican and Central American Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

raphies of José Mariano Beristáin y Sousa⁹⁴ and DeBacker-Sommervogel are considered, extensive historical and linguistic material remains unseen by modern scholars.

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JESUIT PERCEPTIONS OF IROQUOIAN CULTURE: ETHNOCENTRISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT

NANCY BONVILLAIN

French missionaries from the Society of Jesus began work among Iroquoian peoples in the Northeast of North America in the early 1600s. By the middle of the 17th century, Jesuits had established missions in villages of two Iroquoian confederacies, first among the Huron, and later among the Five-Nations Iroquois. They also made periodic visits to other Iroquoians including the Neutrals and Petuns, but the focus of missionary activity remained with the Huron and the Iroquois.

In their writings, preserved as *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791*¹, the Jesuits revealed attitudes and understandings which were sometimes highly enlightened for their day while at other times they are consistent with ethnocentric biases prevalent in 17th and 18th century Europe. This article will evaluate the Jesuits' interactions with Iroquoian peoples, focusing on their enlightened and ethnocentric attitudes.

Jesuits' attitudes toward native life and people were often candidly expressed in their journals. Of course, the Jesuits were themselves of different individual intellects, temperaments and interests. Some wrote insightfully about Iroquoian cultures, perceiving the harmony of peoples' lives and the strength of peoples' character. Some compared native values and mores with those of the French and noted the superiority of the former. Some missionaries even saw the destructiveness of French influence on native life. Others, though, were less inclined to understand Iroquoian culture but rather only saw native customs as barriers to successful conversion.

Attitudes of missionaries toward natives and native life were influenced by the times in which they lived. Jesuits shared the sentiments and values of most of their own society, as

¹ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791*. 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burroughs Bros., 1896). (Hereafter cited as JR).

people everywhere tend to do. However, although the priests' ethnocentrism and prejudices hindered their full appreciation of native culture, they were able to accurately portray Iroquoian culture and convey Iroquoian evaluations of on-going events. In this way, the missionaries' enlightened objectivity balanced their more ethnocentric subjective reactions.

The Jesuits also were able to distinguish among numerous indigenous peoples with whom they were familiar. They understood similarities in social systems and beliefs shared by the Huron, Iroquois, and other Iroquoian peoples, but they recognized differences as well. They did not stereotype native society from one mold nor did they confuse Iroquoian customs with those of Algonquian neighbors.

The Huron, located north of Lake Ontario, consisted of four groups or nations, residing in a number of vales, farmland, and hunting areas in the fertile area between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. Jesuits estimated the Huron population to be approximately 30,000 in 1635, the year of the first mission in Huronia². However, modern researchers suggest the figure of 20,000 as more accurate³. Whatever the exact population, the Huron were quickly decimated by disease and warfare in the brief period between 1635 and 1649. Their numbers decreased to nine or ten thousand by 1640, mainly as a result of devastating epidemics during the previous five years. In 1648-1649, the Huron were finally forced to flee their ancestral homeland by the ravages of smallpox and measles, by attacks of Iroquois warriors, and by starvation ensuing from the impossibility of pursuing their traditional subsistence activities in the context of these numerous calamities.

The Iroquois Confederacy consisted of five independent but closely allied nations: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. These nations lived south of Lake Ontario in present-day New York State. Their separate territories stretched from east to west. Mohawks were the eastern

² JR 7:225.

³ Conrad Heidenreich, *The Huron: a Brief Ethnography, Discussion Paper #6*. (Toronto: York University, Department of Geography, 1972), #6, 24; Bruce Trigger, "Early Iroquoian Contacts with Europeans," in *Northeast*, ed. B. Trigger, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 352.

most Iroquois Nation, followed toward the west by Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas.

Jesuit writers did not give estimates for the entire Iroquois confederacy which they suggested was more populous than the Huron⁴. However, they did on occasion note numbers of fighting men. Their figures for the year 1660 listed 1000 Seneca warriors, 500 Mohawks, 300 Onondagas, 300 Cayugas, and 100 Oneidas⁵.

The Iroquois, like other Northeastern peoples, were decimated by epidemics in the mid 1600s. Waves of smallpox and measles struck Iroquois villages from 1640 to 1650. The Iroquois attempted to compensate for the severe loss of population by adopting members of other nations whom they defeated in warfare, including the Huron and the Abenaki, the latter an Algonquian people to the east of Mohawk territory.

Iroquoian peoples shared many features of culture deriving from their common history and adaptive practices. All Iroquoian societies followed similar systems of descent and kinship organization based on principles of matrilineal descent; they pursued similar subsistence activities centered on horticulture; and they practiced religions which were alike in their fundamental beliefs as well as in many specific details of ritual. Finally, languages spoken by these peoples were related, some close enough to be mutually intelligible or nearly so, and others much more distantly related but all within the same Iroquoian family of languages. These cultural and linguistic similarities were accurately noted by Jesuit writers.

Jesuit activity among Iroquoians began in 1625 when Charles Lalemant⁶, Jean de Brébeuf⁷ and three other priests arrived in Huron territory. Intermittent missionary work was undertaken until 1629 when the French in Canada were defeated by the British. In 1634, Brébeuf returned and re-established the Huron mission. In his capacity as superior for the Huron

⁴*JR* 6:225; 24:271.

⁵*JR* 45:207, *JR* 9:257-259.

⁶Charles Lalemant. B. 17 November 1587, Paris; e. 29 July 1607, Rouen; d. 18 November 1674, Paris; prov. France.

⁷Jean de Brébeuf. B. 25 March 1593, Condé-sur-Vire; e. 6 November 1617, Rouen; d. 16 March 1649, Saint-Ignace (Midland, Ontario); prov. France.

program, Brébeuf instituted an enlightened policy encouraging the Jesuits to learn the Huron language, to settle in Huron villages and there live as much as possible according to the native manner⁸. Brébeuf believed that the missionaries should adapt to native ways and be careful not to offend, annoy or inconvenience their hosts. His instructions to priests, written in 1637, stated, in part:

You must have sincere affection for the Savages, looking upon them as ransomed by the blood of the son of God, and as our Brethren with whom we are to pass the rest of our lives.

To conciliate the Savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking.

You should try to eat their sagamite or salmagundi in the way they prepare it...As to the other numerous things which may be unpleasant, they must be endured, without saying anything or appearing to notice them.

You must so conduct yourself as not to be at all troublesome to even one of these Barbarians.

Finally, understand that the Savages will retain the same opinion of you in their own country that they will have formed on the way; and one who has passed for an irritable and troublesome person will have considerable difficulty afterwards in removing this opinion...as you cannot yet greet them with kind words, at least show them a cheerful face, and thus prove that you endure gayly the fatigues of the voyage⁹.

The first Jesuit residence, named St. Joseph, was built in the Huron village of Ihonatiria. It remained there for a few years until the Huron abandoned the site. Jesuits subsequently moved to several other villages along with their native companions.

In 1638, Jérôme Lalemant¹⁰ succeeded Brebeuf as the Jesuit superior. He altered Brébeuf's policies and instead advo-

⁸ Lucien Campeau, "Roman Catholic Missions in New France," in *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. W. Washburn, vol. 4 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 467.

⁹ JR 12, 117-123.

¹⁰ Jérôme Lalemant. B. 27 April 1593, Paris; e. 20 October 1610, Paris; d. 26 January 1673, Québec; prov. France.

cated the building of a French-style mission settlement separated from Huron villages. The mission, known as Ste-Marie-among-the-Hurons, was completed in 1640 by which time fourteen priests were attached to the Huron program¹¹. These men were assigned to visit various native villages and to encourage converts to come to Ste-Marie either for periodic stays or permanent residence.

Lalemant's policy, although seemingly less enlightened and more authoritarian than Brebeuf's, was perhaps motivated as much by the dangers resulting from intensified warfare in the region as by a reluctance to adapt to Huron living conditions. However, the fact that increases in war and death were due to the presence of French traders and subsequent involvement of native peoples in French and British conflicts was largely ignored by the priests.

Ste-Marie and all the missions in Huronia were soon abandoned in 1648 and 1649 when the Huron were defeated by their Iroquois enemies and consequently fled from their ancestral homeland. The Jesuits continued their work among Huron exiles in Québec. The Huron, with Jesuit support, eventually established a permanent village in 1697 at Jeune-Lorette north of the city of Québec. The settlement is currently called Wendake, from the people's indigenous name for themselves, Wendat.

Under the tenure of Paul Ragueneau¹², who became the Jesuit superior in 1644, Isaac Jogues¹³ commenced contact with the Five-Nations Iroquois. His first visit among the Mohawks, one of the Iroquois nations, took place in 1645. It was followed the next year by a return during which he was executed after he had been accused of witchcraft. Simon Le Moyne¹⁴ visited the Onondaga, another Iroquois nation, in 1654 and established a mission in their territory the following year. Then, after the Iroquois signed a treaty of peace with France in 1666, missions

¹¹ Campeau, "Roman Catholic Missions," 467.

¹² Paul Ragueneau. B. 18 March 1608, Paris; e. 21 August 1626, Paris; d. 3 September 1680, Paris; prov. France.

¹³ Isaac Jogues. B. 10 January 1607, Orléans; e. 24 October 1624, Paris; d. 18 October 1646, Ossernenon (Auriesville, New York); prov. France.

¹⁴ Simon Le Moyne. B. 22 October 1604, Beauvais; e. 10 December 1622, Rouen; d. 24 November 1665, Cap-de-la-Madeleine; prov. France.

were undertaken in villages of all the five Nations. They were led by such men as Jacques Frémin¹⁵, Etienne de Carheil¹⁶ and Jacques Bruyas¹⁷.

Contacts with the Iroquois continued until 1684 when renewed intensification of warfare caused the Jesuits to leave Iroquois territory. They returned in 1702 after peace was once again established. In the meantime, the Jesuits had persuaded a number of Mohawk converts to emigrate from their native villages and establish a mission at La Prairie, near Montreal. The settlement was moved several times, eventually to its present site at Kahnawake, along the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River south of Montréal.

In their missionary activity, the Jesuits served both their God and their country. They sought converts for Christianity from among native peoples, and they also secured allies for the government of France. Some of the missionaries were keenly aware of their dual role, often appealing for funds from the French government with arguments extolling the benefits received by the state from the goodwill engendered among native peoples by Jesuits' presence in their communities. For instance, in 1637, when the governor of New France, Charles Hualt de Montmagni (1636-1648), gave gifts of iron hatchets and arrowheads to residents of the Huron village of Ossosane who had welcomed French missionaries and built them a cabin, Paul le Jeune¹⁸ commented:

It is rare prudence in these Gentlemen to ascribe to Religion what has been given almost entirely through policy. It costs nothing to offer with a holy intention that which must be given for another reason, in order to retain the friendship of these peoples¹⁹.

¹⁵ Jacques Frémin. B. 12 March 1628, Rheims; e. 21 (23) November 1646, Paris; d. 20 July 1691, Québec; prov. France.

¹⁶ Etienne de Carheil. B. 20 (18) November 1633, Carentoir; e. 30 August 1653, Paris; d. 27 July 1726, Québec; prov. France.

¹⁷ Jacques Bruyas. B. 13 July 1635, Lyons; e. 11 November 1651; d. 15 June 1712, Sault-Saint-Louis; prov. Lyons.

¹⁸ Paul Le Jeune. B. July 1591, Vitry-le-François; e. 22 September 1613, Paris; d. 7 August 1664, Paris; prov. France.

¹⁹ *JR* 12:257.

And Barthélemy Vimont²⁰, writing in 1645, noted that:

The Gentlemen of the Company of New France, wishing to procure the conversion of the Savages, and to increase the French Colony, returned into His Majesty's hands the traffic in furs that he had granted them — being fully aware that the strength of the French would be the support of the new Churches that we endeavor to beget to Jesus Christ at this extremity of the world²¹.

Jesuits were, in fact, correct in their assessment of their value to the state. Their roles as advocates of trade and military contacts between native nations and France helped establish and solidify economic and political alliances. Such contacts subsequently had far-reaching impacts on Iroquoian peoples, transforming their economies, polities, and social systems²².

Iroquoian peoples were also well aware of the dual role which the Jesuits played. Indeed, the tolerance that Iroquoians showed toward missionaries was in large part due to the fact that the priests were seen as representatives of the French government. Natives who wanted to forge or strengthen alliances with France, and particularly with French traders, realized that acceptance of Jesuits' presence was well-regarded in France. Conversely, they knew that attacks against missionaries or outright repudiation of them would cause a breach that would have economic as well as political consequences.

Furthermore, some Iroquoian people were motivated to convert to Catholicism for economic reasons. Jesuits provided material aid to converts, giving food, tools and utensils. Even more significant was the fact that French traders paid higher prices to Christian converts than to non-Christians for the furs they brought to trading posts. Finally, after 1641, French merchants supplied native people with guns and ammunition, but traded the weapons only to those who were Catholic²³.

²⁰ Barthélemy Vimont. B. 17 January 1594, Lisieux; e. 22 or 13 November 1613, Rouen; d. 13 July 1667, Vannes; prov. France.

²¹ *JR* 27:137.

²² Nancy Bonvillain, "Missionary Role in French Colonial Expansion," *Man in the Northeast*, 29 (1985):1-14.

²³ Trigger, "Early Iroquoian," 351

In this historical setting, then, the Jesuits were allowed to live among Iroquoian peoples. Their presence and their policies produced many changes in Iroquoian life. Some of these changes were consciously designed by the Jesuits and reveal their ethnocentric attitudes. Others, however, were unplanned and unwitting. First, the priests believed that European skills in technology and material production were vastly superior to those of indigenous peoples. They introduced material innovations into Iroquoian communities, bringing such items as iron kettles, knives, awls and other metal utensils. For their part, the natives eagerly acquired these goods since metal objects were, in fact, sturdier and more durable than their own bone, wooden or clay implements.

Second, as noted above, Jesuits encouraged contact between Iroquoians and French traders. Natives received European manufactures in exchange for beaver pelts which were highly prized in 17th century Europe. But deepening involvement in trade had serious and unforeseen negative consequences for indigenous communities in the Northeast. As natives came to depend on European goods, they competed with each other for access to a dwindling supply of beaver and for control over routes to trading posts. Intertribal warfare quickly intensified throughout the region resulting in deaths and dispersals of people from their ancestral lands. Jesuits lauded the benefits of trade, and, although they decried the warfare which grew steadily, they failed to link the two as cause and effect.

Third, in addition to their attempts to convert Iroquoians to Christianity, Jesuits advocated changes in several fundamental features of indigenous social and ethical mores. For example, priests urged Iroquoians to abide by European family values, entailing fidelity to a life-long marriage, obedience of a wife to her husband's authority, and strict disciplining of children²⁴. Jesuits' attempts to alter Iroquoian social systems and beliefs clearly revealed their ethnocentric biases. They believed that Iroquoian society would be "improved" by adherence to European social mores. Although Iroquoians generally ignored

²⁴ Nancy Bonvillain, "The Iroquois and the Jesuits: Strategies of Influence and Resistance," *American Indian Culture & Research Journal* 10 (1986):35-39.

missionaries' appeals, those who converted were directly influenced by European attitudes and eventually adopted these foreign cultural constructs.

Fourth, the religious conversions which Jesuits made among Iroquoians, although initially few in number, resulted in disrupting community stability. Although this effect was not consciously designed by the missionaries, their blindness to the consequences of their presence does reveal a fundamental belief in their own righteousness. Factions in Iroquoian communities led by Christians favoring close economic and political ties to the French vied for leadership with factions favoring maintenance of traditional lifeways. Jesuits often encouraged their followers to separate from non-Christian kin and neighbors, thus resulting in further social strains. In some cases, such conflicts had direct effects on people's survival. For example, among the Huron, religious and political factionalism split the community into a group advocating alliance with France and one advocating closer ties and peace negotiations with the Five-Nations Iroquois. This dispute deepened during the 1640s, a critical time in Huron history, and contributed to the destabilization and eventual collapse of Huron society in 1649²⁵.

Finally, the presence of Jesuits in Iroquoian communities had a tragic consequence in spreading diseases originating from Europe. Although the priests were, of course, totally unaware of their role in transmitting disease and death, this was the most horrific impact of the Jesuits on native life. Prior to Europeans' arrival in North America, diseases such as smallpox and measles were unknown in Amerindian communities. But Europeans brought with them the microorganisms which cause these diseases. The organisms spread with devastating speed among native populations who had never been exposed to them and therefore had developed no resistances or immunities. Epidemics resulted in death and demoralization within a short period of time. This factor, too, contributed to destabilizing many native communities.

In the Jesuits' writings, discussion of two particular areas

²⁵ Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, 2 vols. (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1976), 710-722.

of Iroquoian life most revealed the priests' understanding and misunderstanding of native culture. These were Iroquoian systems of ethics and justice and their religious beliefs and practices. First, the Jesuits' contradictory ethnocentric and enlightened attitudes were indicated in their comments on principles of morality followed by Iroquoian people. This is an area of native life which most of the missionaries poorly understood. They were so steeped in the kinds of formal mechanisms of control instituted in highly stratified state societies such as those in Europe that they were unable to appreciate the strength of informal controls prevalent among Iroquoians. The power of kinship ties and responsibilities, the influence of public opinion, the desire for community harmony, and the wish to be a respected, accepted member of one's household and village were the bedrock of Iroquoian interactions. Together they molded people's perceptions of themselves and others and justified the rights and obligations that bound people into families and communities. Although Jesuits did not adequately understand such a system of morality, a few did note that Iroquoian life was harmonious despite the lack of "laws." Jérôme Lalemant, writing in 1645, reviewed the Huron's system of justice which entails a kin group's collective responsibility for the behavior of one of its members. Lalemant noted:

Now although this form of justice restrains all these peoples and seems more effectually to repress disorders than the personal punishment of criminals does in France, it is nevertheless a very mild proceeding, which leaves individuals in such a state of liberty that they never submit to any Laws and obey no other impulse than their own will. This, without doubt, is a disposition quite contrary to the spirit of the Faith, which requires us to submit...to a Law that is not of earth²⁶.

In this passage, Lalemant's objectivity allowed him to recognize the lack of "disorder" in Huron society, but his narrow view underestimated the seriousness of Huron ethics of morality and collective responsibility. What he called a "very mild proceeding" actually weighed heavily on an individual's

²⁶*JR* 28:49-51.

sense of honor and personal integrity. Lalemant, though, did understand that in contrast to Huron communities, conditions of public order in France, with all of its legal pronouncements and punishments, were much more chaotic and violent. He added:

In truth, [the Huron's] customs are barbarous in a thousand matters; but after all, in those practices which among them are regarded as evil acts and are condemned by the public, we find without comparison much less disorder than there is in France, though here the mere shame of having committed the crime is the offender's punishment²⁷.

Again, Lalemant's apt comparison between Huron and French society was distorted by an understatement of the seriousness of personal shame and collective retribution in Huron life. In fact, Iroquoian public order was supported by a strong social network of reciprocity and responsibility. Their system of ethics included principles of generosity and cooperation, well noted and lauded by Jesuit writers. For instance, Simon LeMoyne wrote on the Mohawks after visiting them in 1656 and 1657:

No hospitals are needed among them, because there are neither mendicants nor paupers as long as there are any rich people among them. Their kindness, humanity, and courtesy not only make them liberal with what they have, but cause them to possess hardly anything except in common. A whole village must be without corn before any individual can be obliged to endure privation²⁸.

Despite their misunderstandings of Iroquoian morality, many Jesuits commented quite favorably on the natives' personalities. This tendency was especially strong regarding the character of Iroquoian converts. In 1694, Claude Chauchetière²⁹

²⁷ *JR* 28:63.

²⁸ *JR* 43:271.

²⁹ Claude Chauchetière. B. 17 September 1645, Saint-Porchaire-de-

summed up the character traits of Mohawks residing at the mission village of Kahnawake near Montreal:

Anger is the chief one of their passions, but they are not carried away to excess by it, even in war. Living in common, without disputes, content with little, guiltless of avarice, and assiduous at work, it is impossible to find a people more patient, more hospitable, more affable, more liberal, more moderate in their language³⁰.

And Luc-François Nau³¹ offered a similar assessment of the people at Kahnawake some forty years later:

The Iroquois are more inclined to the practice of virtue than other nations; they are capable of refined feelings but the bad example and solicitations of the French are a very great obstacle to the sanctification of our Iroquois...Taking all into consideration, our Iroquois are much better Christians than the French³².

In addition to their comments on Iroquoian etiquette and rules of society, Jesuits were, of course, particularly interested in Iroquoian religious beliefs and practices. In this area of life, too, the priests poorly understood or indeed misunderstood native culture. And it was in this area that Jesuits' prejudices were most overtly stated. They viewed Iroquoian religions as full of superstition and devil-worship. But, to their credit, despite perjorative ethnocentric comments, they often wrote detailed and observant descriptions of rituals and beliefs.

One of the most important features of Iroquoian religious systems was their emphasis on dreams. Although the Jesuits made frequent reference to Iroquoian beliefs in the power of dreams as expressions of personal wishes or as forewarnings of future events, they failed to appreciate the significance of these

Poitiers; e. 7 September 1663, Bordeaux; d. 17 April 1709, Québec; prov. Aquitaine.

³⁰ *JR* 64:131.

³¹ Luc-Françoise Nau. B. 17 January 1703, Noirmoutier-en-l'Île; e. 12 December 1720, Bordeaux; d. 5 September 1753, Luçon; prov. Aquitaine.

³² *JR* 68:267.

beliefs. In the Iroquoian system of dream-interpretation, one's innermost desires are expressed in dreams. In order to maintain good health, these desires must be fulfilled in waking life. Conversely, if wishes contained in one's dreams are thwarted, an individual is likely to become ill. The missionaries considered Iroquoian beliefs about dreams, inner wishes, and disease to be the height of absurdity. But contrary to the Jesuits' ethnocentric views, Iroquoian interpretations of dreams and concepts of interrelationships between psychic and somatic functioning were enormously profound. By dismissing Iroquoian beliefs and practices regarding treatment of illness as irrelevant foolishness, the missionaries overlooked the great expertise of Iroquoian practitioners in treating disease through natural and ritualistic means.

In fact, the combination of psychological and ritualistic curing techniques produced intense dramatic episodes which, along with use of natural remedies, were effective in combating many ailments. In aboriginal times, these treatments were largely sufficient and continued to be so in curing most indigenous illnesses. However, native treatments were totally ineffective in treating epidemic diseases introduced through European contact. The Jesuits concentrated only on the latter failures and ignored the successes. They therefore dismissed the entire Iroquoian medical system as false.

The devastation wrought by epidemic diseases among Iroquoians was felt immediately in the rapid decline of populations. In their writings, Jesuits make frequent note of this horrific loss of human life. To their credit, they also relate the suspicion of many Iroquoian people that the priests were somehow responsible for the origin and spread of the new diseases which were so quickly fatal. This suspicion led to the execution of Isaac Jogues by Mohawks who accused him of purposefully leaving a black box in their village which through witchcraft caused epidemics and crop failures. In Lalemant's words:

Sickness having fallen upon their bodies after [Jogue's] departure, and worms having perhaps damaged their corn, these poor blind creatures have believed that the Father had

left the Demon among them, and that all our discourses aimed only to exterminate them³³.

Lalemant later accurately commented that:

It is true that, speaking humanly, these Barbarians have apparent reasons for reproaching us — inasmuch as the scourges which humble the proud precede us or accompany us wherever we go³⁴.

Indeed, many natives concluded that since the diseases began to flourish in their communities only after Jesuits started to live among them, the priests had brought the ailments. In accordance with Iroquoian beliefs that one possible method of causing disease and death was witchcraft, the natives accused missionaries of being witches. Since neither natives nor Europeans of the 17th century understood the physical mechanisms of transmission of disease, the underlying cause of epidemics was misdiagnosed. However, the Iroquoians were certainly correct in connecting Europeans' arrival with the origin and spread of epidemics.

For the Jesuits' part, they readily dismissed the notion that they were witches, but some perceptive priests did admit a certain element of justice in the Iroquoians' accusations against them. For example, Lalemant, writing in 1640, commented that:

No doubt, they [Hurons] said, it must needs be that we had a secret understanding with the disease (for they believe that it is a demon), since we alone were all full of life and health, although we constantly breathed nothing but a totally infected air.

Wherein truly it must be acknowledged that these poor people are in some sense excusable. For it has happened very often, that where we were most welcome, where we baptized most people, there it was in fact where they died the most; and, on the contrary, in the cabins to which we were denied

³³*JR* 30:229.

³⁴*JR* 31:121-123.

entrance, although they were sometimes sick to extremity, at the end of a few days one saw every person prosperously cured. We shall see in heaven the secret, but ever adorable, judgments of God therein³⁵.

In addition to the physical effects of illness and death, Iroquoians' social order, economies, and belief systems were harmed by the epidemics. Households and lineages were often completely wiped out in a short period of time, tearing apart the social fabric of communities. When epidemics took hold, even survivors were often too weak or distraught to carry out their productive work in farming or hunting. Decreasing supplies of food led to undernourishment and consequent weakening of people's ability to resist new waves of disease. Finally, the modes of explanation traditionally used to understand and treat illness proved totally ineffective in combating smallpox and measles. This led to loss of faith among some people regarding their native belief system. In desperation, some sufferers turned to the Jesuits for help. In fact, most of the "conversions" made by Jesuits were of people who were dying and accepted baptism as a last resort after their own treatments failed. The priests tended to accept these conversions as motivated by a change in the native's religious beliefs rather than as a groping for treatment well within the framework of the indigenous system of medical care.

Some of the Jesuit writers were themselves aware of their own misunderstanding of Iroquoian culture. For instance, Paul Ragueneau, writing in 1649, criticized Jesuits' tendencies to condemn Iroquoian customs which seemed strange to the French. He noted that instead of condemning native behavior, the priests should reason with the people and attempt to enlighten them. Then, he said, they will

...gradually find out their absurdity, laugh at them, and abandon them — not through motives of conscience, as if they were crimes, but through their own judgment and knowledge, as follies³⁶.

³⁵ *JR* 19:91-93.

³⁶ *JR* 33:145.

Ragueneau recognized that the missionaries had been “...too severe on this point.” As a result, the Iroquoian converts

deprived themselves not only of harmless amusements, but also of the greatest pleasures of life, which we found it difficult to allow them to enjoy, because there seemed to be something irreligious in these, which made us fear sin therein³⁷.

And Ragueneau noted, upon reflection, that the missionaries may have exaggerated the strangeness or harm of some Iroquoian customs:

Now in these matters, though there be not only error, but also disorder — and frequently even sin, which no doubt cannot be permitted to the Christians — nevertheless, the evil is much less than we at first thought, and much less general than it appeared to us to be³⁸.

Ragueneau’s assessment of Iroquoians and their culture indicated an accepted worldview which accorded righteousness to efforts to convert peoples of a different faith to Christianity while it also indicated a willingness to look objectively at Europeans’ prejudices. As he commented:

The Savages are not so savage as is supposed in France; and I may say with truth that the intelligence of many yields nothing to ours. I admit that their customs and their natural tendencies are extremely shocking — at least to those who are not accustomed to them, and who reject them too quickly, without sufficiently knowing them. It is true that their manner of expression is different from ours; but since the word of the heart is the same in all [people], one cannot doubt that their tongue has also its beauties and its graces, as much as ours. Although they live in the woods, they are none the less [people]³⁹.

³⁷ *JR* 33:147.

³⁸ *JR* 33:209.

³⁹ *JR* 29:281-283.

Ragueneau's rational assessment of Iroquoian culture and of European biases encapsulated in one comment both the ethnocentrism of 17th century Europeans and the enlightened view which reflection can produce.

**COMMENTARY:
THE FASCINATION OF JESUIT CARTOGRAPHY**

ANNE GODLEWSKA

Had he not died Christmas 1992, Brian Harley, rather than I, would have written and delivered this commentary. His intended audiences, the discipline of geography and we, his students, have all lost a great deal in his death, and I will not try to fill his shoes here. Still, I think that he might have concurred with much that I have to say today. What I say here, I say as an historian of cartography and geographic thought. I am not, nor do I pretend to be, an expert in either the early history of the Americas or Jesuit history. Neither am I particularly comfortable playing the role of the expert's expert in commenting on the specialist papers at this symposium. Consequently, what I would like to present is perhaps less of a commentary, in the strict sense, and more in the way of synthetic and suggestive comments about the fascination of maps and the potential of the study of Jesuit geography, exploration and especially, cartography.

The focus is on exploration and geography, and, in particular, on the activities of the Jesuits in the Americas. At the heart of both exploration and geography is, and has long been, the map. Today the modern discipline of geography tends to neglect the map, leaving it aside as a less scholarly and less analytic remnant of its past. Yet as recently as 1800 geography *was* mapping¹. Certainly, in Classical Greece, the greatest geographers were cartographers and mathematicians². And if we extend our sense of disciplinary identification back to the caves, the depiction of places and events on the walls of caves and on rock outcrops can be seen as some of the earliest human con-

¹ I have made this argument more fully in "Traditions, Crisis, and New Paradigms in the Rise of the Modern French Discipline of Geography 1760-1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 79, 2 (June 1989):192-213.

² O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* in the series *Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985).

ceptualizations of geographic space³. Even today geographers, who never make a map and rarely consult maps, still often retain the map as the analogical and metaphoric definitional core of their activities⁴. The map is linked to exploration not only because geography and exploration are associated activities but because the map most succinctly resumes what is known, understood or hypothesised about a place or region. Of course, this also means that it reveals most starkly what is not known, understood or perceived.

The map is also an exceptionally powerful document. It is a synthesis of information which is a great deal more than just a collection of facts about places. The sources of its considerable power are six-fold: its non-linearity; its accessibility across cultures; its simplification and hierarchical structuring of information; its use in strategic decision making; the complexity and multiplicity of layers of meaning that it can hold; and its representation of the voice of the elite.

The manner in which the map conveys information is one of the most important sources of its power to influence. The process of reading texts (or even that of listening to music) is essentially linear. In reading, our eyes move from left to right or right to left or even from up to down - depending on our linguistic tradition. Maps, however, are read as we tend to perceive the world around us. They are read situationally. When you walk into a room, full of unfamiliar people, your eyes will certainly flit about, seeking to assess the mood already suggested by the sounds in the room, judging the size of the group, its age profile, the distribution of people and types of people about the room, and perhaps whether there are friends or familiar faces in the crowd. A map is looked at in much the same way. The reader immediately seeks orientation, scale, familiar symbols,

³G. Malcolm Lewis, "The Origins of Cartography" and Catherine Delano Smith, "Cartography in the Prehistoric Period in the Old World: Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa" in J. Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 1:50-53, 59-101 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁴The school of spatial analysis can certainly be seen in that light, as can much of traditional cultural geography, medical geography with its focus on the diffusion of disease and even a good deal of the most recent research in boundary layer climatology.

recognition of location, and any relationship to experience or the knowledge of the reader. Even the pattern of eye movement will be similar as the reader's eyes dance about the map⁵. That is undoubtedly a good part of what makes maps so compelling to the average person. Texts must be opened and read according to forms and procedures taught over long years. Indeed, even university students have difficulty quickly assessing books through a quick perusal of the table of contents, preface, introduction, conclusion, index, bibliography, footnotes and perhaps a key chapter. A map speaks more directly and more simply. Good map reading requires knowledge and skill, but maps will speak to many for whom texts forever remain mute.

Perhaps in part as a result of this, maps are more universally accessible across languages and cultures. Faced with an eleventh century map of China, such as the Hua I Thu (Map of China and the Barbarian Countries) we may not be able to read the place names, yet there is much that the map conveys to a curious and informed eye: the configuration and extent of the territory of interest to the cartographer; the physical features deemed worthy of representation; the major towns; perhaps something of an attitude to scientific accuracy; some sense of the technology behind mapping in that period; and much else⁶. It is unsurprising, then, that the history of the Encounter is peppered with stories of maps drawn in the sand, and that European archives and museums have preserved maps drawn on birch bark, on bone, and marked out with pebbles on hide⁷. In this first meeting between cultures, a map can give precision to gesture after language had failed⁸. In addition, maps are pic-

⁵ See Henry W. Castner and Denis W. Lywood, "Eye movement recording: Some Approaches to the Study of Map Perception," *The Canadian Cartographer* 15, 2 (December 1978):142-150, and Henry W. Castner, "Viewing Time and Experience as Factors in Map Design Research," *The Canadian Cartographer* 16, 2 (December 1979):145-158.

⁶ See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: University Press, 1959) 3:548.

⁷ G. Malcolm Lewis, "Preliterate Cartography in North America," Unpublished manuscript to appear in volume 4 of J. Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography* (forthcoming).

⁸ There is a building literature in this area. See D. Efron, *Gesture and Environment* (Morningside Heights, New York: Kings Crown Press, 1941); Gordon W. Hewes, "Primate Communication and the Gestural Origin of

torial images. As such, they can tell a story which left much to be interpreted and, thus, to be filled in by the receiving culture. They could be, in Gagnon's sense, allegorical⁹. Certainly the cartouches depicting "America" and the "savages" were allegorical¹⁰, but in a more subtle sense so were the map and the globe which, among other things, might itself represent, for example, the Jesuits as the saviors of the world. In a sense, the allegorical communication was undesirable to the Jesuits as there is every evidence that the function of many of their images was immediate, direct and unambiguous translation of key religious concepts. But perhaps distinct cultures can only communicate through allegory and analogy — certainly where spiritual matters are concerned — until the cultures cease to be distinct.

Even the most complex map, at any scale that it is possible to make a map, is a radical simplification of information about some part of the world. Coastlines are generalized, the nature of mountains and valleys are expressed in contours, and at most scales complex conurbations are merely outlined. The information, however, is presented in hierarchical form, the rationale behind which is sometimes relatively easy to surmise. In the modern road map we quickly understand that it is the navigability or traversability of rivers, the quality of the road surface, the comparative distances of different routes and the size and commercial or administrative vitality of urban areas that counts. This is the hierarchy of information most likely to serve us in way-finding in the automobile age. All other information is relatively unimportant. The Ebstorf Mappamundi provides us with an altogether different hierarchy of information. Here the world is expressed metaphorically as the body of

Language," *Current Anthropology*, 14, 1-2 (1973):5-24; A. Kendon, "Geography of Gesture," *Semiotica* 37 (1981):129-163; A. Kendon, "The Study of Gesture. Some Remarks on its History," *Recherches sémiotiques/Semiotic Inquiry* 2 (1982):45-62; D. J. Umiker-Sebeok and T. A. Sebeok, eds. *Aboriginal Sign Languages* (2 vols.) (New York: Plenum Press, 1978); and R. Arnheim, *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

⁹ François-Marc Gagnon, *La Conversion par l'Image. Un Aspect de la Mission des Jésuites auprès des Indiens du Canada au XVIIe Siècle* (Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1975) 43, 65 and 79.

¹⁰ On this see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*. (London: Lane, 1975).

Christ and the key events in Christian cosmology are given overriding, concrete and apparently spatial expression. The Christian experience of the world or the Christian narrative is the structuring criteria behind the hierarchy of information in this map — relegating topological accuracy to a subordinate position largely incompatible with the modern scientific conception of the map. Such hierarchies reflect a great deal about the world views of their makers¹¹.

The fourth source of the power of maps is that they are predigested information. The culmination of detailed research into what is often not particularly spatial forms of data, they display their information with remarkable simplicity and clarity. Political and military strategists may frequently think in the abstract, but they usually are obliged to act in concrete and Euclidean space or to risk seeing their plans go unrealized. As eighteenth-century military strategists came to appreciate, there is little more useful than the appropriate map at the appropriate scale at just the critical moment¹². Further, it is, as any corporation executive will confirm, predigested information that allows speedy and efficient decision making. To be powerful, the picture must be simple. This does not mean, however, that the information within the map need lack complexity and depth. As François de Dainville demonstrated so powerfully, the cartographic language of geographers, which includes words, symbols and colors, can richly describe the nature of the air, bodies of water and river systems, forms of terrain, internal

¹¹ On the Ebstorf map see: John Kirkland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe* (New York: AGS 1925, 1965); Charles Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography. A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Ad. 900* (London: J. Murray, 1897-1906); David Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi" in J. Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 1:286-370; and for the best surviving reproduction of the map, Walter Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hannover: Niedersächsisches Amt für Landesplanung und Statistik, 1952).

¹² See Anne Godlewska "Napoleon's Geographers: Imperialists and Soldiers of Modernity" in *Geography and Empire: Critical Studies in the History of Geography*, eds. Anne Godlewska, and Neil Smith (In process with Blackwell).

structures of terrain, vegetation, habitats, and human spaces full of religious, military, commercial, industrial, agricultural and political meaning¹³. In addition, the symbols, words and colors themselves may have complex historical and cultural resonances¹⁴. The map, then, is an unusual document, bearing a great deal of difficult to gather information, which nevertheless presents that information with pictorial simplicity. Still, if we were to methodically and critically disassemble the map, many much more complex levels of meaning would be revealed — levels of which the strategists might have been unaware. And yet who is to say how it might have influenced their actions?

The precision of the lines on the map, the consistency with which symbols are used, the grid and/or projection system, the apparent certainty with which place names are written and placed, and the legend and scale information — all give the map an aura of scientific accuracy and objectivity¹⁵. Despite the fact that quite subjective interpretation goes into the construction of these cartographic elements, the finished map appears to express an authoritative truth about the world separate from any interests and influences. The very trust that this apparent objectivity inspires is what makes maps most potent carriers of ideology. While not appearing to, maps do indeed reflect the world views of either their makers or, more probably, the patrons of their makers, in addition to the political and social conditions under which they were made. As Brian Harley most eloquently put it:

Both in the selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation, maps are a way of conceiving,

¹³ François de Dainville, S.J. *Le langage des géographes* (Paris: Picard, 1964).

¹⁴ See for example Ulla Ehrensward, "Color in Cartography: A Historical Survey," in D. Woodward, ed. *Art and Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Eila J. Campbell, *The History of Cartographical Symbols*, M.A. Thesis 1946, University of London Library; and M. J. Kemp *The Science of Art. Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

¹⁵ J. Brian Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographia* 26, 2 (1989):1-20 and the responses to be found in *Cartographia*. 26, 3 and 4 (Fall, 1989):89-127.

articulating and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations¹⁶.

Some of the very simple ideological messages that maps can convey include: this territory is and has long been ours; here is the centre of the universe; what counts is not the people but the state; territorial conquest is a glorious and righteous mission; if we do not claim this land, the enemies you most fear will; and so on.

Finally, maps have generally expressed knowledge about places from the vantage point of an elite. As already mentioned, the production of maps — certainly the very useful ones — demands, and seems to have always demanded, considerable outlays of capital in the form of training, time, field and archival research, materials, and even health and lives. Few indeed have been the merchants and leaders either able to afford such an investment or with the imagination to understand its value. The information to be found on the most useful maps produced through history was, consequently, privileged, restricted and, thus, imbued with social and political power.

These characteristics of cartography give maps their power and make them interesting objects of study in and of themselves and in conjunction with the contexts within which they were constructed. It could be argued, however, that Jesuit cartography, produced over an extended period in Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia and Islamic countries, is particularly worthy of attention. The major strengths of the Jesuit order were just those necessary to make their cartography distinctive and influential (and particularly influential in the colonial context). The depth of their religious commitment; their preparedness to learn indigenous languages; their hierarchical structure and complex relations with political power; their affinity for both science and the humanities; and their team spirit gave their maps a particular flavor and together make their cartography an especially compelling subject of study.

¹⁶ In Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 278.

The strong religious commitment of the Jesuits imbued them with a global vision which they sometimes expressed in maps and globes and which they are recorded as having demonstrated to indigenous peoples using maps and globes as didactic tools¹⁷. The vision they expressed in their maps was well suited to cartography. It was classically geographical in that it was concerned with the diffusion of their influence, that is, with the Jesuit impact on the spread of Christianity throughout the world. The impact of these images may have been great and is certainly worth exploring and speculating on. There is evidence that in many pre-literate societies religious belief, dreams, images, and the meaning of place were closely intertwined¹⁸. How would such people have understood and seen the Jesuit maps and their descriptions of the oecumene? It is not likely that the Jesuits were very aware of this cosmological dimension to indigenous map making as it was precisely in the realm of the other's religion that they were the most blind¹⁹. Exploration of the competing cosmologies through what remains of Jesuit and indigenous maps, together with the sparse material and limited theory available for the study of indigenous religions, may teach us a great deal about the Encounter, the compatibilities and clashes of competing cosmologies, the two sets of religions and the dialogue or cross-talk of different cartographic cultures²⁰.

To achieve the goals of conversion and "civilisation," which essentially meant the sedentarisation and "pacification"

¹⁷ François-Marc Gagnon, *La Conversion par l'Image*. 34-46.

¹⁸ One of the best known examples of this is the Walbiri. See Nancy D. Munn, "The Spatial Presentation of Cosmic Order in Walbiri Iconography," *Primitive Art and Society*, ed. Anthony Forge, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Nancy D. Munn, *Walbiri Iconography: Graphic Representation and Cultural Symbolism in Central Australian Society* (Chicago: University Press, 1986); and N.B. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits and Proper Names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

¹⁹ Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest. The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 309.

²⁰ Of particular interest is the pre- and post-Conquest pictorial writing tradition of Mexico which has attracted some good scholarship. See in particular Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial*

of Indian tribes, the Jesuits were prepared to learn, and were even interested in, indigenous languages. This, at a time when most European invaders paid little attention to the indigenous population of America — beyond its labor, commercial and tribute potential or its threat to Europeans, their settlement and travel. The Jesuit explorers, often the advance guard of the European invaders, were consequently well equipped to collect geographic information on the ground without necessarily covering all of the relevant territory themselves. As a result, in some of their maps, and in contrast to most of the published maps of the Americas, there is a distinct indigenous presence²¹. Often the tribes are named and placed, and much of the information provided would have come from indigenous sources as it was essentially impossible for a single missionary, or indeed a team of them, to cover the vast expanses of territory without help from the indigenous population — in spite of Eusebio Kino's dedication. These maps, then, if carefully analyzed, may provide us with spatial information on the geography of parts of the Americas in the early stages of the European invasion.

The Jesuits were a hierarchically structured order with a highly respected elite of the professed and a lesser class of spiritual coadjutors. They also saw themselves as an ecclesiastical and intellectual elite. In addition, they were a strongly centralized order in that missionaries reported to rectors who reported to a visitor, who reported to the provincial, who in turn reported to the superior general in Rome who finally reported directly to the Pope²². Both of these characteristics were extremely compatible with the centralization of information and unified direction that any good survey demands and gave them a natural understanding of the relationship between cartography and power. There was, then, an extremely good fit between the

Period: The Metropolitan Schools (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959); and Mary Elizabeth Smith, *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico; Mixtec Place Signs and Maps* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). For some of the subtleties of analyzing pictorial post-Conquest indigenous texts see Rolena Adorno, "On Pictorial Language and the Typology of Culture in a New World Chronicle," *Semiotica* 36 (1981):51-106.

²¹ A good example of this is Samuel Fritz's "Mapa del gran río Marañón" (Quito, 1707). See David Buisseret's paper.

²² Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*. 293.

Jesuit structures, the map making process which required coordination from the center, and the message that their maps carried.

Jesuit cartography is also particularly interesting due to the complex relationship that the order maintained with both secular and ecclesiastical power. Their close affiliation with the various Catholic states of Europe and the system of the "patronat" until 1622 gave them the resources to explore and map. Mapping, as already discussed, has always been a costly endeavour, and, while the resources available to the Jesuits may not have been truly adequate, they did make exploratory and cartographic activities possible. There was something of a tacit agreement between the powers, but the division of gain was neither simple nor straight-forward: the Jesuits got the souls; the governments got the territory and the people. But how can a people be divided from their souls or their souls from their territory? These sorts of conflicts lay at the heart of the mission of the Jesuits. How much sensitivity can we find in their writings and maps for the territorially-based identity of indigenous peoples? As Europeans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Czechs, Austro-Hungarians, etc., the Jesuits must also have suffered considerably from divided loyalties — which we ought to look for in their maps and in the mapping processes in which they were engaged. In fact, the order had complex and conflicting responsibilities. In different circumstances, they were accountable: to the pope (there are indications that there was in the Vatican at various times a central depot very much like the Patronato Real); to their superior in Europe; to the local bishop (or at least, they were at times obliged to negotiate with him); to the local colonial government which generally wanted to control and limit information; to the national government in Europe which saw the Jesuits missionaries as their commercial and military agents and administrators; to each other (and here there should be evidence of exchanged information in their maps and/or in letters between them); and finally, to the scientific academies and communities to which they reported as scholars and scientists and which sometimes shaped their activities. Indeed, much remains to be done in exploring the influence of ideas in the academies on the Jesuits and their mapping activities and of the ideas and experience of the Jesuits on the academies. The relationship of the Jesuits to secular power was, then,

complex and bears exploration. It is through their cartography, published and not, that we can begin to examine some of these relations of power and influence. Indeed, even the difference between their published and manuscript maps may suggest another relationship to look for and explore — that between the order and commercial map makers.

The well-known affinity of the Jesuits for science is another source of their interest to us. Their interest in the sciences (at least pre-Enlightenment science: and in particular, observational astronomy, Euclidean mathematics and cartography) and their belief in the hierarchical and structured nature of knowledge, prepared some of them to produce maps of first rate quality. In their mapping activities and in their planning and design of communities such as the reductions (and perhaps those described by Mary Ann Lafleur), they can also be seen as testing the first aggressive signs of Western science's commitment to the centralised and coordinated control of space²³. The Jesuit missionaries were, certainly, well equipped to undertake such a spatial, and fundamentally social, conquest. These were highly educated professionals: astronomers, jurists, architects, mathematician/cartographers, dramatists, artists, administrators, natural scientists, metallurgists, agronomers, etc. To what extent did they consciously see themselves as Western science's representatives in the imposition of a European order on the world? The Jesuits were not merely men of science. They also had one of the strongest humanities trainings then available in Europe²⁴. This taught them the importance and pathos of accumulated cultural experience and gave them some respect for the cultures (at least the high cultures) that they were seeking to convert. Since they were superior observers of culture, their maps should (and in some cases do) contain details and information that most Europeans would have found without interest or irrelevant to the purpose at hand. Did this training also help them sense the pressure point

²³ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), esp. 259-265.

²⁴ On the education of the Jesuits see François de Dainville, S.J. *La géographie des humanistes* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1940).

in other cultures; the structures and aspects of their *genre de vie* which, if directly attacked, would undermine their distinct cultural integrity? Almost certainly, it gave them a disrespect for non-literate cultures whose people they must have regarded much as they did the illiterate (and sometimes still very pagan²⁵) peasants of Europe.

There have been many attempts to explain Europe's long dominance of so many previously viable and often technologically and socially sophisticated cultures around the world. Possibly the question is simply too large and vaguely framed to be answerable. One compelling suggestion, however, is that the fundamental difference between European and non-European cultures, which allowed the former to conquer and dominate much of the world for more than four centuries, was not superior technology but highly competitive and aggressive organizational skills bred in the atmosphere of cheek by jowl little states fighting over resources, territory, commerce and even world views²⁶. Among the best organized of the aggressive Europeans were the Jesuits, so famous for their team spirit and sense of belonging to an organization with a mission worth dying for. These characteristics made them an invading force of extraordinary strength and resilience and one whose organization skills and power few peoples could resist. The coherence of their aims; their organizational skills; their strategic approach to their mission — all have found clear expression in maps — which further enhances their value for analysis.

All of these qualities also made the Jesuits the quintessential representatives of European culture, seen in both a positive and a negative light. This is perhaps most clear in their attitude to the "Other," which they approached with both open curiosity and aggressive and deliberate destructiveness. The history of cartography, then, as Harley would no doubt say, must and should take a leading part in reexamining the role of the Jesuits in forming the modern world. We, if we choose, can place the

²⁵ On the ongoing war against paganism in France, see Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400-1750* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University, 1985).

²⁶ Paul Knox and John Agnew, *The Geography of the World Economy* (London, New York, Melbourne and Auckland: Edward Arnold, 1989), 112-122.

Jesuits and their cartographic activities at the center of the growing but recently fierce awareness and conscience-searching over European intellectual, religious, scientific, economic and territorial hegemony. Certainly, much of their history needs to be rewritten in the light of the sensitivities we, as Europeans or their intellectual heirs, have recently begun to acquire. As such, we can see the Jesuits as the precursors of modern imperialism but also of modern anthropology and sociology (complete with participant observation) and thus engage the voluminous literature recently so critical of those endeavours. We can even see in the thinking behind the reductions an early form of development theory and take on board the criticisms and insight offered by its critics. The need for this critical perspective is crystal clear in the light of interpretations of events such the conflict between the Jesuit fathers and the Iroquois as presented by Bangert in 1972:

Several [of the Jesuit fathers] fell under the blows of the Iroquois, then *a cruel and aggressive confederacy* of five nations *located between the French and English territories*, who pressed *like a sharp thorn in the growing body* of Christian Indians along the Saint Lawrence²⁷.

Such historically oblivious and ideologically loaded views of Jesuit and early North American history desperately need to be rewritten. Historians of cartography, with a passion for maps, the military metaphor and the concept of exploration as discovery and rebirth, must go back over their own literature and preconceptions and examine them for such uncritical and blatantly self-serving interpretations. In so doing, I am convinced, they will discover new and more powerful sources of inspiration.

²⁷ Bangert, William V. *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 266.

JESUIT CARTOGRAPHY IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

DAVID BUISSERET

Introduction

At the time of the formation of the Society of Jesus in 1540, Spanish cartographers had already established the coastal outlines of Central and South America. Plate 1 reproduces a map of 1554, which summarizes the remarkable work achieved over the previous four decades by the pilots, cartographers and cosmographers of the *Casa de Contratación* at Seville.¹ Not only are the coasts delineated with reasonable fidelity, but numerous towns are also marked. However, within this vast landmass almost everything remained to be done, for the early Spanish mapmakers gave only sketchy indications of rivers, mountains and the settlements of native peoples.

Some progress was made in the later sixteenth century by royal officials in response to Philip II's request for geographical information, for that king was a great enthusiast for maps, and called for numerous *pinturas*, or detailed local maps, to accompany the empire-wide series of *relaciones geográficas*.² The most important cities were often mapped by royal engineers, who needed to plan fortifications in response to the threat from European pirates.³ But the *pinturas* and the military plans cov-

¹ The best general work on the *Casa* is still Manuel de la Puente y Olea, *Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de Contratación* (Seville, 1900).

² The fullest and most recent work on the *pinturas* is Barbara Mundy, "The Maps of the *Relaciones Geográficas* of New Spain, 1579-c.1584," Yale Ph.D. diss., 1993.

³ There is a good selection of their work in *Puertos y Fortificaciones en América y Filipinas*, published by the Comisión de Estudios Históricos de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo (Madrid, 1985). Eventually, some royal engineers also produced maps of the countryside; see Janet Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands* (Glendale, 1977).

ered only a very small area, and vast stretches of land remained unmapped.

Some cartographic work was accomplished by other religious orders, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who were present almost from the start of the Spanish invasion of the Americas. But the Jesuits soon outstripped all the rest in the extent and quality of their cartography. They first came to Brazil in 1549, to Peru in 1567, to Mexico in 1572, and to the Rio Plata in 1587. We know curiously little about their intellectual formation. But we do know that in the *Ratio Studiorum*, history and geography were regarded as inseparable, and that in teaching geography, some measure of skill in cartography was expected; the Jesuit system moreover included a sound foundation in mathematics.⁴ The frontispiece of this volume offers us an exceedingly rare visual glimpse of the allocation of studies in an eighteenth-century Jesuit college.⁵ It comes from the *Acto Académico* of the Jesuit school for nobles in Barcelona in 1756, and accompanies the text quite closely. Studies are divided into eight sections. Two of these are physical skills, dancing ("saltatoria," lower right) and fencing ("gladiatoria"). After that come religion, polite letters, heraldic arts and languages. The final two are both geographical in nature: a knowledge of globes and astronomy (geographia et astronomia), and a knowledge of maps (cosmographía).⁶ It is rather extraordinary that a quarter of the themes should thus be geographical in nature; as we shall see, many Jesuits in the New World did have formidable cartographic skills.

Jesuit activity south of the Río Grande was divided among seven main provinces, each with three or four mission territories.⁷ In the north was the province of Mexico (founded 1572);

⁴ See François de Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites* (Paris, 1978), Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* (Milwaukee, 1938), and Jerome Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* (Berkeley, 1938).

⁵ The *Acto Académico* came to my attention when it was exhibited on the occasion of the Loyola conference.

⁶ Curiously, the author of the frontispiece uses "cosmographía" where we might use "geographía" and vice-versa.

⁷ For a good overview of Jesuit activity in the New World, I have relied

eventually this came to include the missions of Sonora, Tarahumara and California. Then came the province of Quito (1616), responsible for the great missions of Marañón. To the northeast was the late-established province of Nueva Granada (1695), responsible for the Caribbean and for the missions of the Orinoco River. To the south was the province of Peru (1567), with the missions of Moxos and Julé, and then came the province of Chile (1624), with the missions of Araucania, Chiloé and Patagonia. To the east was the great province of Paraguay (1608), with missions in Chiquitos, Guaraníes and Las Pampas; to the north of that lay the province of Brazil (1587), largely manned by Jesuits from Portugal. There was some cartographic activity in all of these areas, and we shall review it province by province.

The Jesuits who served in these provinces mainly came from the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world, but there was a very important minority from the German-speaking Habsburg lands in central Europe. From start to finish, the bulk of the Jesuits served in urban places; in 1755, for instance, over 80 per cent of the 624 members of the order in the Mexican province lived in towns.⁸ However, the German-speaking Jesuits tended, whether from personal inclination or from some prejudice on the part of their superiors, to be sent to the missions. This turned out to be fortunate for map-making, since the Germans had often been well trained in cartography and were able to set their talents to good use in the wilderness; there was of course much less need to make plans of cities or even of long-settled regions.

Mexico: Tarahumara, Sonora and Pimería

Among the earliest Jesuits to come to Mexico, in 1572, was Juan Sánchez Baquero (1548-1619), who became rector of

on Vicente D. Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos en la Conquista Espiritual de Hispano-América* (Buenos Aires, 1944).

⁸ According to José Gutiérrez Casillas, *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (Mexico City, 1977), 15:379; I owe this reference to Professor Henry F. Dobyns.

the College of Oaxaca and is said to have drawn many maps.⁹ Some of his cartographic work in the area round Mexico City seems to have been used many years later by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1648-1700), in whose time the area round Mexico City came to be quite well mapped.¹⁰ But on the northern frontier of New Spain everything remained to be done.

Juan María Ratkay (1647-1683) was characteristic of the early Jesuits working in this area.¹¹ He was born in Croatia, and came to Mexico in 1680. Sent to the mission of the Tarahumara, he soon made a map that suggests that he had had some cartographic training (plate 2). The area, situated in the Sierra Madre about fifty miles southwest of present-day Chihuahua, is very mountainous, but Ratkay succeeded in plotting about twenty "principal missions" as he calls them, and a number of subsidiary ones. His map is oriented northwards and tied in with coordinates of latitude and longitude. The figures for latitude are rather approximate; Carichí, for instance, in the center of the map, is in fact a little below 28 degrees, and not at 31 degrees as Ratkay shows it.¹² Some of his rivers are recognizable; it is, for instance, the Río Conchos that angles up from the southeast into the center of the map. However, only an intense local study, based on very large-scale topographical maps, could tell us how accurate the map is in its details.

While Ratkay was working in the mountains, other Jesuits were slowly extending their missions northwards along the coast.¹³ Beginning at Topia, by the 1680s they had firmly established themselves as far north as the Río Sonora. In 1692, a "Geográfica Mappa" (plate 3) of the Sonora region was drawn by Adam Gilg (1653-after 1710). Born in Moravia, he had come

⁹ Ernest Burrus affirms that a handsome manuscript volume of them survives: *La Obra Cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús (1567-1967)* (2 vols., Madrid, 1967) 1:4.

¹⁰ See Irving Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley, 1929).

¹¹ See Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 27.

¹² See the map in Carl Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico* (Berkeley, 1934).

¹³ There is an account of this process in Peter Masten Dunne, ed., *Two Reports by Juan Antonio Balthasar* (Tucson, 1957).

to Mexico in 1687 and had been assigned to the Seri Indians of Sonora, whom we see in the upper lefthand corner of his map.¹⁴ In addition to mountains and rivers, Gilg shows the trails linking the churches, missions and unconverted Indian villages ("*pagum gentilium*"). He catches the main topography very well, with the "Río de Sonora" and the "Río de S. Maria" (now the Río S. Miguel de Horcasitas) running up northwards each side of the Sierra de Aconchi. Virtually all the towns that he shows on the Río Sonora, from Arizpe southwards, are still found there today. Cucurpe and Opodepe are well sited on the Río S. Miguel de Horcasitas, and Gilg shows his own mission roughly where the town of San Miguel Horcasitas now stands. His figures for latitude are accurate in the southerly areas but become quite wild in the northern parts; for instance, Cananea is 31 degrees north, instead of nearly 32, and Arizpe lies at about 30 degrees 20 minutes instead of 31 degrees. Perhaps Gilg became more inaccurate the further he strayed from his southerly base. In his work on the Sonora missions, Gilg sometimes collaborated with Eusebio Kino (1645-1711), surely the most famous of the Jesuit cartographers of New Spain.¹⁵ Kino had entered the order in 1665, and studied at the University of Ingolstadt, where he came under the influence of the cartographers Adam Aigenler (1633-1673) and Heinrich Scherer (1628-1704). When he arrived at Veracruz, in 1681, he was thus exceptionally well prepared to undertake mapping work. From 1687 onwards, he worked in Pimería and Baja California, making about 40 expeditions in 24 years, and drawing a large number of maps, of which 31 have survived.

Kino's life was permeated by cartography. In 1692, for instance, at Saint Xavier del Bac (outside modern Tucson), he noted that he "spoke to the Indians of the word of God, and on a map of the world pointed out to them the lands, the rivers and the seas over which we missionaries had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our holy faith...I showed them on the map of the world how the Spaniards and the faith

¹⁴ See Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 29.

¹⁵ See the magistral work by Ernest Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, 1965).

had come by sea to Veracruz, and so reached Puebla, Mexico City and so forth.”¹⁶

By 1697, he had produced a manuscript map of the northern area (plate 4), drawn to illustrate the biography of his martyred Jesuit companion, Francisco Xavier Saeta (Francesco Saverio Saetta, 1664-1695). Saeta is kneeling by the Magdalena River, and to the north Kino shows the Gila (“Hila”) River emerging from the territories of the Apaches (near present-day Las Cruces) and making its way into the “Mar de la California;” at this stage Kino still thought that California was an island. His map is not remarkable for its accuracy, but it does show a great number of villages and tribal areas (the latter in red) in this remote and arid country. Such a map was the fruit of an almost unimaginable number of travels, in which Kino took his observations with compass and astrolabe.

In the late 1690s, Kino made more expeditions, out of which came the “Passage par terre a la Californie, decouvert par le Rev. Pere Eusebe-François Kino, Jesuite, depuis 1698 jusqu’a 1701,” (plate 5) published at Paris in 1705. In this map, Kino not only shows California correctly as a peninsula but also tidies up various details of the Pimería region; for instance, the Gila River is now shown as joining the Colorado River before both flow into the Gulf of California. As always with synthetic maps of this nature, while some parts gave an improved version, others seemed to regress; the delineation of the valley of the Sonora River is thus greatly inferior to that of Adam Gilg’s map, for Kino mapped best the regions that he had personally explored, lying north and west of the Río Sonora.

After the pioneering work of Kino, a whole sequence of Jesuits devoted themselves to mapping the northwest region. In 1745, for instance, Salvador Ignacio Bustamante (1702-1782) drew a map of the “Sierra de el Nayarit” (plate 6) in the country north of Tepic, capital of Nayarit province. Bustamante was born in Michoacán, Mexico, in 1702, and made his profession in 1738. From 1737 to 1745 he worked in the missions of Nayarit, of which he wrote a history.¹⁷ The accompanying map,

¹⁶ See Charles Polzer, ed., *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, 1976) 48.

¹⁷ See Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 59.

oriented roughly northwards, shows the area between the Río San Pedro (left) and the Río Grande de Santiago (bottom). It may seem rather crude but successfully sets out the process of missionary activity as the Jesuits systematically penetrated the hill country away from the coast.

As a final example from this region, we could take the *Plano Corográfico de la Sonora* composed by Juan Nentwig (1714-1768) to accompany his "Descripción geográfica de la provincia de Sonora".¹⁸ Nentwig (1713-1768) came from Bohemia, and arrived in Mexico in 1750 to work in the Sonora missions. He was an accomplished mathematician, and worked in Sonora until the expulsion of 1767. There is a manuscript copy of his great map in the Museo Naval at Madrid,¹⁹ but our detail comes from the *Plano* preserved in the British Library (plate 7). It shows the area north of the Río Yaqui ("Río de Hiaqui"). Nentwig's superb cartouche seems to imply that the Jesuits were interested in the arts both of war (on the left) and of peace, and his scale seems to express the hope that native Sonorans will undertake surveys. His map shows a large number of places, but in its general level of accuracy is often inferior to maps produced earlier in the century; a closer acquaintance with the territory did not necessarily lead to a more accurate mapping of it.²⁰

Mexico: California

Some of the Jesuits involved in the slow extension of missionary activity northwards were attracted in the 1640s by the prospect of working in California, across the Mar de California.²¹ Between 1683 and 1685 Eusebio Kino took part in an expedition across that sea, from which he emerged with a

¹⁸ See Juan Nentwig, *Rudo Ensayo, A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764* (Tucson, 1980).

¹⁹ See Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 91.

²⁰ See, for instance, the work of Ignacio Pfefferkorn: Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 140.

²¹ On this work see Miguel León-Portilla, *Cartografía y Crónicas de la Antigua California* (Mexico City, 1989).

detailed map. This “Delineación de la Nueva Provincia de San Andrés,” (plate 8) now preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, characteristically shows the names of the local tribes in red. The coastline has exaggerated indentations, and the islands are rather schematic, but the figures for latitude are remarkably accurate; Kino obviously used his astrolabe to good effect in this unfamiliar territory. The two settlements shown are at “Real de San Bruno” in the north, and at “Real de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe” in the south, roughly corresponding to present-day Loreto and La Paz respectively.

Kino’s 1705 map (plate 5) showed both sides of the Gulf of California, with a summary on each side of the cartographic information acquired over the previous half century. The “Nouvelles Missions” are carefully shown with small church symbols, and many Indian villages are also marked. This plate was used both in the popular mission magazine *Lettres Edifiantes*, and also in the Jesuits’ scientific journal, the *Mémoires de Trevoux*.²² It thus reached a very wide audience, which for the first time could see the extent of the Jesuits’ labors in these parts.

Shortly before his death, Kino drew a map which was intended “to accompany and illustrate his diary.” This map, discovered in 1962 by Ernest Burrus (1907-1991) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,²³ gives a marvelous summary of his work. Called the “Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Navarra” (plate 9), it not only shows the western missions but also relates them to the earlier missions on the Río Grande, from Santa Fé south to El Paso (“Paso”). Kino had drawn a manuscript version of this map in 1696, when he still thought that California was an island,²⁴ but this printed version is much more authoritative. On it, Kino marks not only missions, but also royal mines, major ranches, *presidios*, ancient cities and centers of unconverted Indians. The latter are particularly numerous east of the valley of the Río Grande, where their very names were as

²² Published between 1701 and 1764, the map appeared in one of the volumes for 1705.

²³ Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*, 50.

²⁴ Burrus, *op. cit.*, pl. viii.

yet unknown (top right of plate 9), and along the Ríos San Pedro and Gila.

After Kino's death, the next major cartographer in Baja California was Fernando Consag (1703-1759). Born in Croatia, he came to Mexico in 1730 and was assigned to Baja California in 1739, where he made many expeditions into the northern half of the peninsula.²⁵ Like those of Kino, his maps were edited and copied again and again, until it is difficult to see what his original contribution was. Probably the map that he contributed to Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California* (Madrid 1757) best summarizes his work (plate 10). It shows the eastern coast of the northern half of the peninsula, where Consag had been looking for mission sites. He gives a good delineation of the whole coast, though his measurements of latitude are off by roughly one degree. He also sketches in the coastal hills, and shows the marshy area at the head of the bay. The Isla Angel de la Garda now appears in the Gulf in roughly its correct position; it would seem, though, that Consag did not go out to the island, merely plotting its position from the land.

Other Jesuits followed Consag in establishing the cartography of relatively small areas of Baja California. Juan Armesto (1713-1795), for instance, drew an elegant sketch of the southern tip of the peninsula,²⁶ and Wenceslaus Linck (1736-1772 or 1790) provided information about the northern areas.²⁷ Much of this new knowledge was summarized in the map which Juan Baegert (1717-1772) drew to accompany his work on the Californian missions, *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien* (Mannheim, 1773). This map (plate 11) which Baegert called *California per P. Ferdinandum Consag S.I. et alios* does indeed contain information about the northern gulf derived from Consag. But it also relies on Kino for the far northern areas and on Link's information for the northern part of the peninsula. As usual, the figures for latitude are some degrees off, and there is no attempt to

²⁵ See Burrus, *La Obra Cartográfica*, 63, and M. D. Krmpotic, *Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konscak, S.J., 1703-1759* (Boston, 1923).

²⁶ Burrus, *op. cit.*, 85.

²⁷ See Ernest Burrus, ed., *Wenceslaus Linck's Reports and Letters, 1762-1778* (Los Angeles, 1967).

insert figures for longitude. The missions of Baja California are carefully shown; and, for the first time, there is an attempt to use hachuring in order to delineate the relief. Expelled after 1767 with the rest of his colleagues, Baegert completed this map during his retirement in Germany.

Quito: Marañon

Within what is now Mexico, Jesuit missionary activity was concentrated in the northwestern region. In the central areas, and southwards to Panama, such work was mostly undertaken by Franciscans and Augustinians,²⁸ though they do not seem to have created maps with the same enthusiasm and skill as the northerly Jesuits. In the province of Quito, the great figure in the early cartography was undoubtedly Samuel Fritz (1654-1724).²⁹ Born in Bohemia, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1673, and in 1686 was sent to the Jesuit college at Quito. From here he led the missionary work among the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, eventually travelling down the Amazon River as far as the Portuguese station of Pará at its mouth. In the course of his travels Fritz took careful observations and by 1691 was able to compose a manuscript "Mapa geográfica del Río Marañon o Amazonas," of which there is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.³⁰

This map was reproduced in its essentials by Juan de Narváes and published at Quito in 1707 (plate 12). It shows the whole course of the Amazon, from its headwaters near Quito and Lima clear across the continent, to Pará on the Atlantic Ocean. Tribal areas are carefully indicated, and in the large section of notes the author explains that the four or five crosses mark the sites at which Jesuits were martyred. On a map cover-

²⁸ See the map of "Missionary Districts" in Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton, 1982), 20.

²⁹ See Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos* and also George Edmundson, ed., *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz* (London, 1922).

³⁰ Reproduced in *Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Française*, the atlas accompanying the work cited in note 31.

ing so vast an area, there are inevitably mistakes. But comparison with modern maps of the same area leaves the reader astonished at the fidelity with which Fritz was able to capture the main features of the Amazon basin.

This map was reproduced many times over the years and played an important part in the territorial disputes of the late nineteenth century between Venezuela and the Guyanas.³¹ Plate 13 shows a version of it which appears in an early eighteenth-century collection of French manuscript maps. Fritz's work has been somewhat simplified, and some of the names are garbled, but the main outline of his geographical discoveries is quite recognizable.

After this remarkable start, our information about cartography in the Quito province rather fades. We know that Jean Magnin (1701-1753) drew maps about 1740 for his "Relación de las misiones," but none seems to have survived.³² From the eastern end of the Amazon came an anonymous *Mappa vice provinciae Societatis Maragnonii*, published in 1783 and reproduced by Lucio de Azevedo.³³ Two remarkable maps survive from the period after the expulsion, in 1767. The first (plate 14) was drawn in a Lisbon prison-cell by Francis Xavier Weigl (1723-1798), who was being held there after his deportation.³⁴ Born in Gratz, (today Graz) Weigl became Superior of the Marañon missions, which he consequently came to know well. His map attests to this, giving a good rendering of the country from the Gulf of Guayaquil in the west to the Portuguese border in the east.

A slightly larger area was covered by the map which Juan de Velasco (1721-1792) drew to accompany his *Historia del Reyno de Quito* (3 vols., Quito, 1841-1846) (plate 15). He pays particular attention to the eastern boundary with Portugal, where the straight roughly north-south boundary-line between the Amazon and Putumayo Rivers may still be seen on modern maps. His toponyms are numerous and seem well placed. Much

³¹ See the *Mémoire Présenté par les Etats Unis du Brésil...* (Paris, 1899).

³² Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos*, 379.

³³ See his *Os Jesuitas no Grao-Pará* (Coimbra, 1930).

³⁴ Reproduced in Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos*, facing 328.

of this difficult country now seems to be more or less mapped, even if some areas are marked “poco conocido.” Velasco notes in his cartouche that he has relied on the “Observaciones de los académicos y misioneros,” and his map no doubt brings together a great deal of detailed cartographic material that we shall never otherwise recover.

Nueva Granada: Orinoco

In the northern part of his map (plate 12), Fritz had shown in a rather schematic way the course of the Orinoco River. This area was mapped in the 1730s by José Gumilla (1686-1750), who published the map in his *El Orinoco Ilustrado* (Madrid, 1741) (plate 16). Born in Valencia, Gumilla went to the missions about 1715 and rapidly made a name for himself as an intrepid explorer and dynamic administrator, becoming “Superior de las Misiones del Orinoco”.³⁵

His many travels allowed him to plot the location not only of Jesuit missions, but also of those of other orders (“Misiones de los PP Observantes” and “Misiones de PP Capuchinos catalanes”). Cities with Jesuit colleges were specially marked, as were mission-stations. As with Fritz, a cross marked the place where a missionary has died. Gumilla probably got this idea directly from Fritz, for he certainly copied from him the large imaginary oblong “Laguna de Parima” which Fritz called “Parime Lago.”

Peru: Moxos

The province of Peru was administered from the cities of Lima, Cuzco and Arequipa. It lay in the heart of an area that was of great interest to the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680). Among his many works is the *Mundus Subterraneus* (Amsterdam, 1665), in which he sought to

³⁵ See the introduction to José Gumilla, *El Orinoco Ilustrado y Defendido* (edition of Caracas, 1963).

account for such phenomena as volcanic eruptions and large-scale tidal flows. Plate 17 shows his map of the New World with a much exaggerated version of Lake Titicaca in the Andes mountains; he believed that the Andean lakes played an important role in regulating hemispheric marine currents.

Many of the ideas of Kircher have turned out to be mistaken, but he had the great merit of seeing that the study of natural phenomena needed to take account of constantly changing conditions under the land and sea. In a sense, his geographical observations were the terrestrial counterpart of those astronomical observations that were leading European scientists away from the idea of a closed, fixed world, and into the concept of an ever-changing and perhaps infinite universe.

The chief mission of the Peru province was among the people of Mojos, and it was quite well mapped.³⁶ The Jesuits from Lima had first made contact with this area in the late sixteenth century, and they steadily expanded their missionary efforts there during the seventeenth century. Plate 18, a map perhaps drawn by Javier Iraizos,³⁷ shows us the missions towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The map is oriented eastwards, with Cuzco at the bottom left of La Paz on the bottom right. The rivers Beni and Momore flow from right to left across the map, which has the mission of Trinidad at its center. On the right, a table gives the population of the various centers.

These river-valleys were difficult to settle, with rough terrain and an unhealthy climate. But the map attributed to Iraizos gives an excellent summary of what had been accomplished over a century's work. Plate 19 offers the same information on a north-oriented map from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, with which the Jesuits reached a large segment of the French-reading public. Comparison of this map with the modern map of the same area makes it clear that the main outline of settlement

³⁶ See third volume (Burgos, 1964) of Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú* and also William Denevan, *The Aboriginal Cultural Geography of the Llanos de Mojos of Bolivia* (Berkeley, 1966).

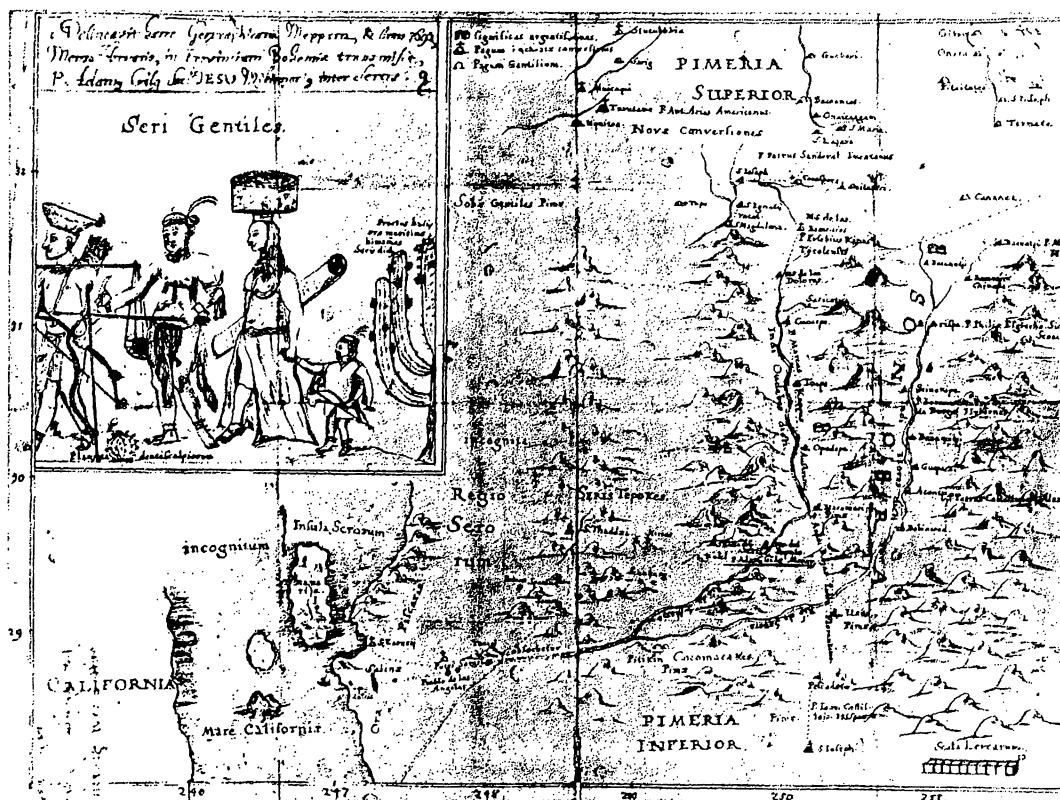
³⁷ See Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, *Cartografía Jesuítica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1936), 86-87.

imposed by the Jesuits has largely survived, in spite of the expulsion of 1767. Towns like Trinidad, Exaltación and San Ignacio are still the major centers of this region, which remains remote from the life of the capital at La Paz.

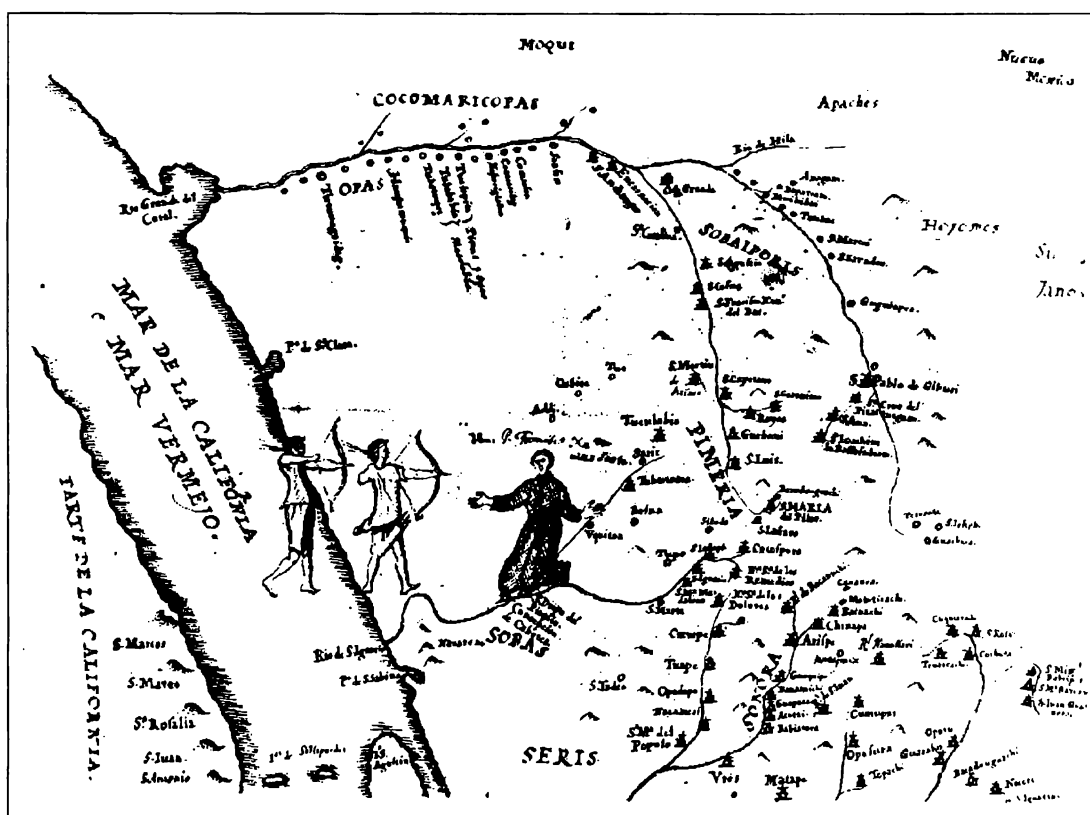


1. Peru, from Cieza de Leon, *Crónica del Perú* (Antwerp, 1554)

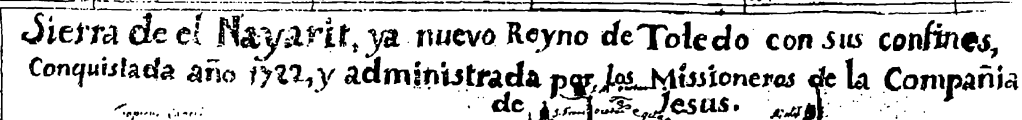




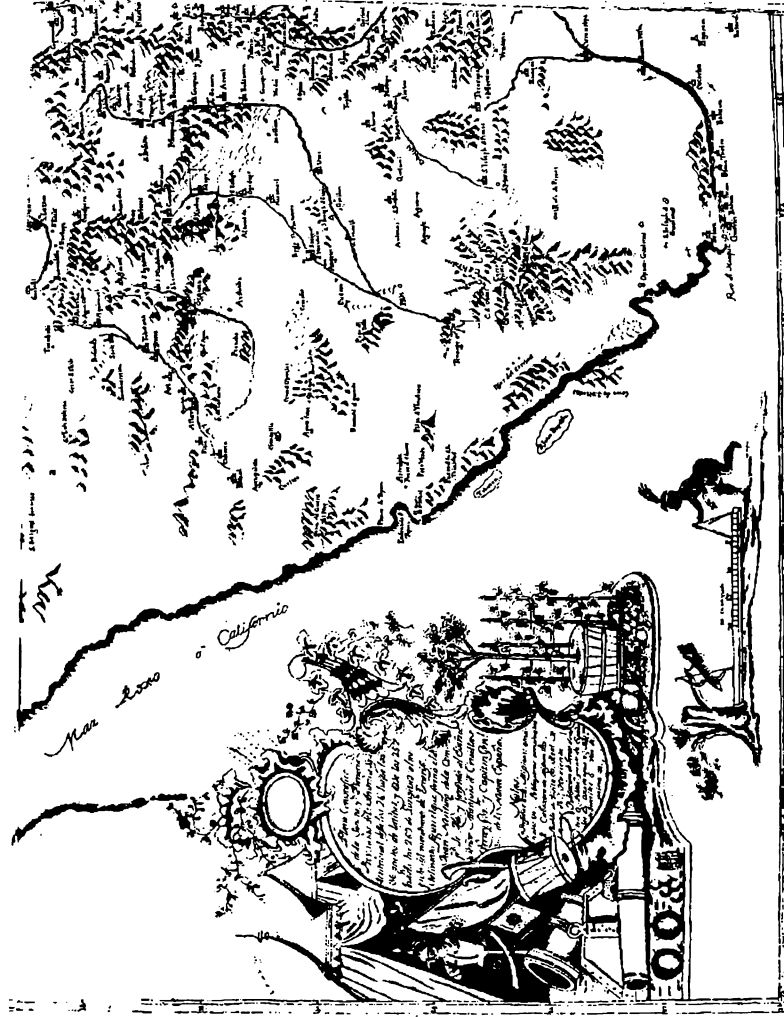
3. Adam Gilg, Missions of the Seris, 1692 (Wiener StaatsArchiv)



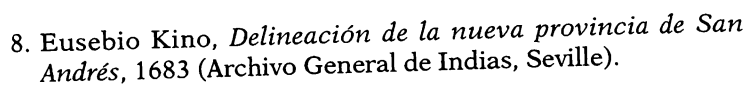
4. Eusebio Kino, Map of Pimeria, 1696-7 (Central Jesuit Archives)



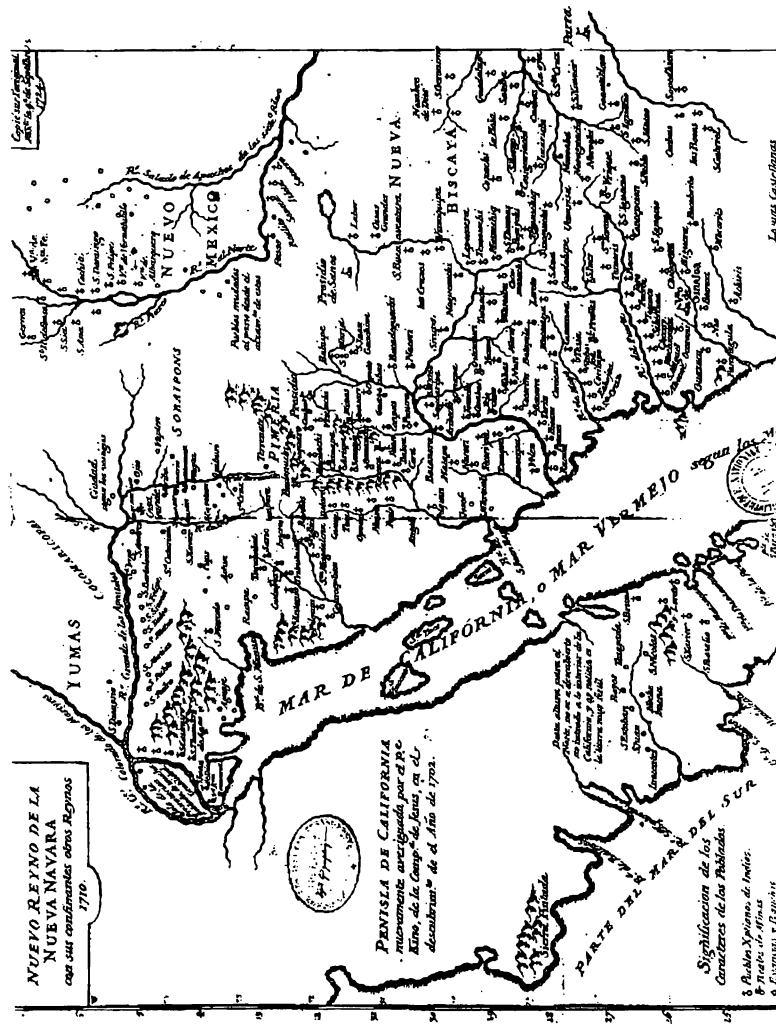
6. Salvador Ignacio Bustamante, "Sierra de Nayarit", 1745 (The Bancroft Library)

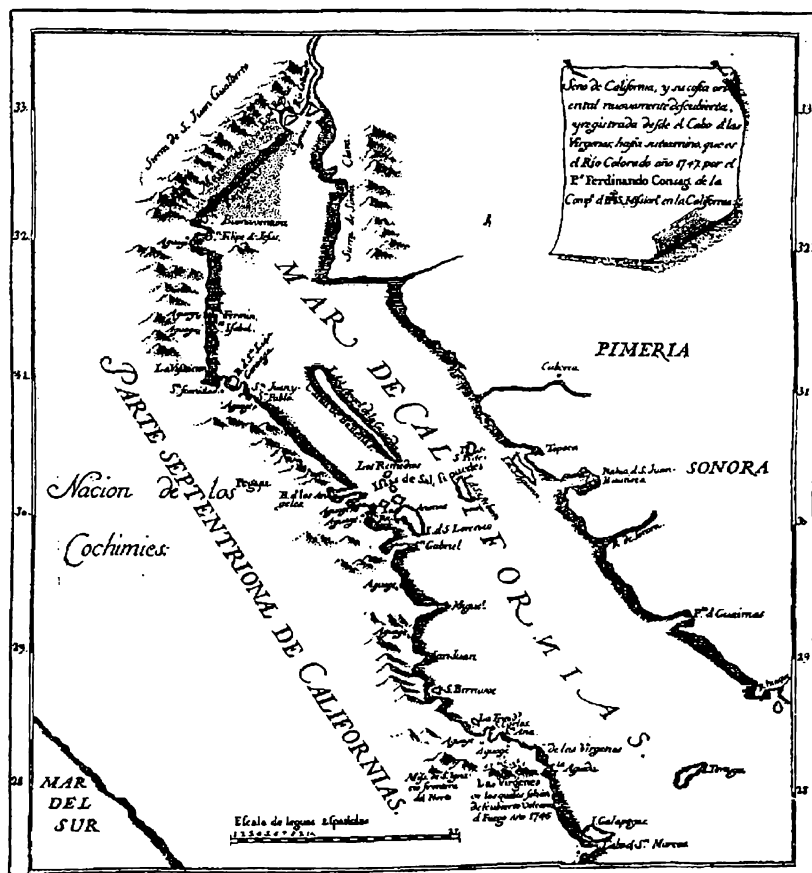


7. Juan Nentwig, Detail from the *Plan corográfico de la Sonora y Pimería*, 1764 (The British Library)

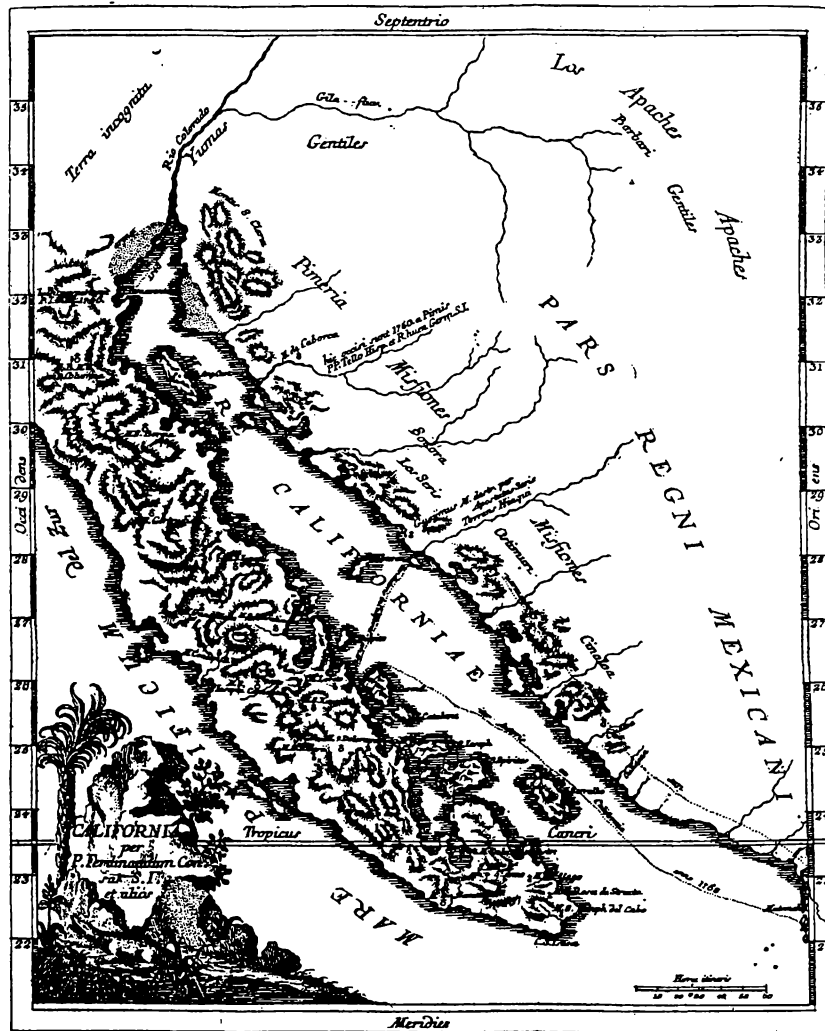


8. Eusebio Kino, *Delineación de la nueva provincia de San Andrés*, 1683 (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla).

9. Eusebio Kino, *Nuevo Reyno de la Nueva Navarra* (Paris, 1724)

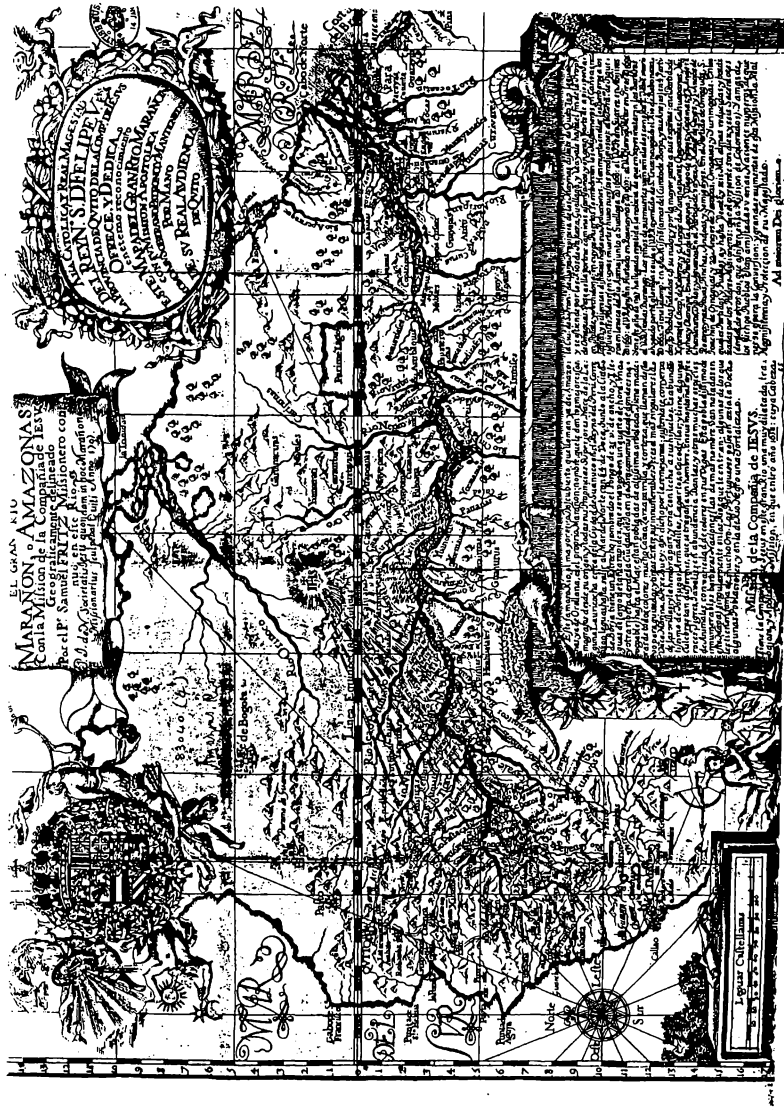


10. Fernando Consag, *Seno de California* from Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757)

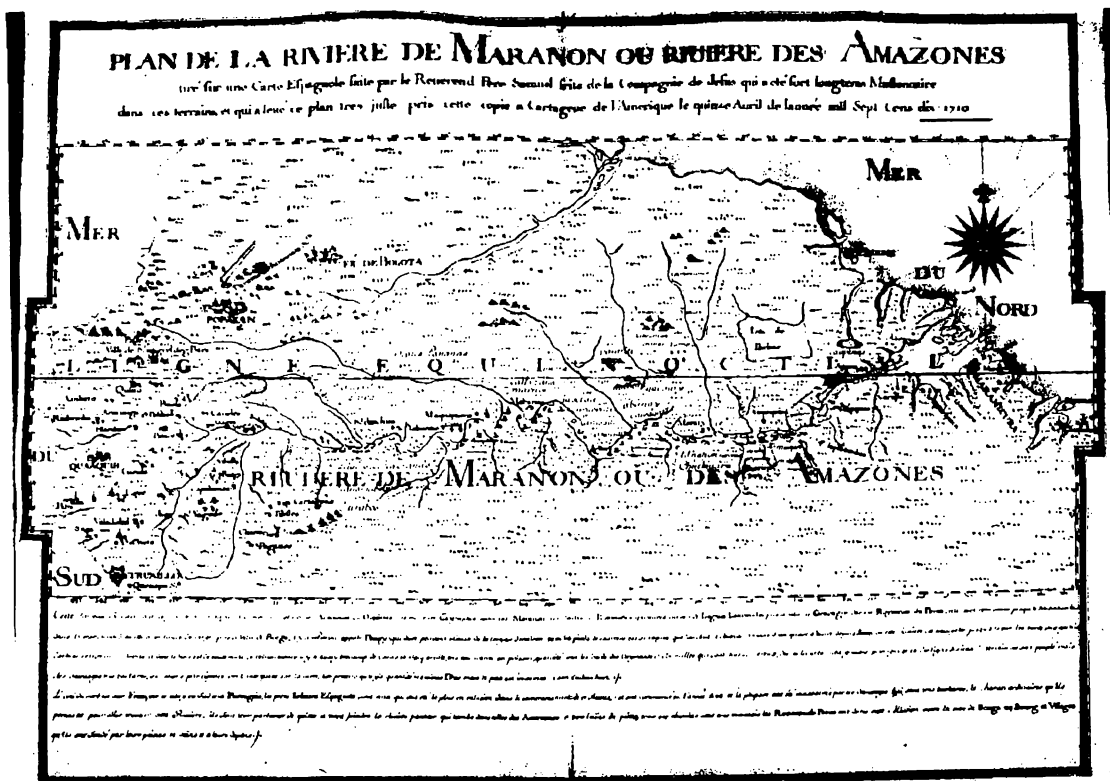


Nota: Tripla latior et amplius descripta hic California est, quam re ipsa sit, ut scilicet aspectus melius pateret. Hinc Scala horaria meridies secundum longitudinem tantum Californiae servit, non secundum latitudinem. Omnia etiam sunt longitudinis gradus, eo quod incerta illa adhuc sit.

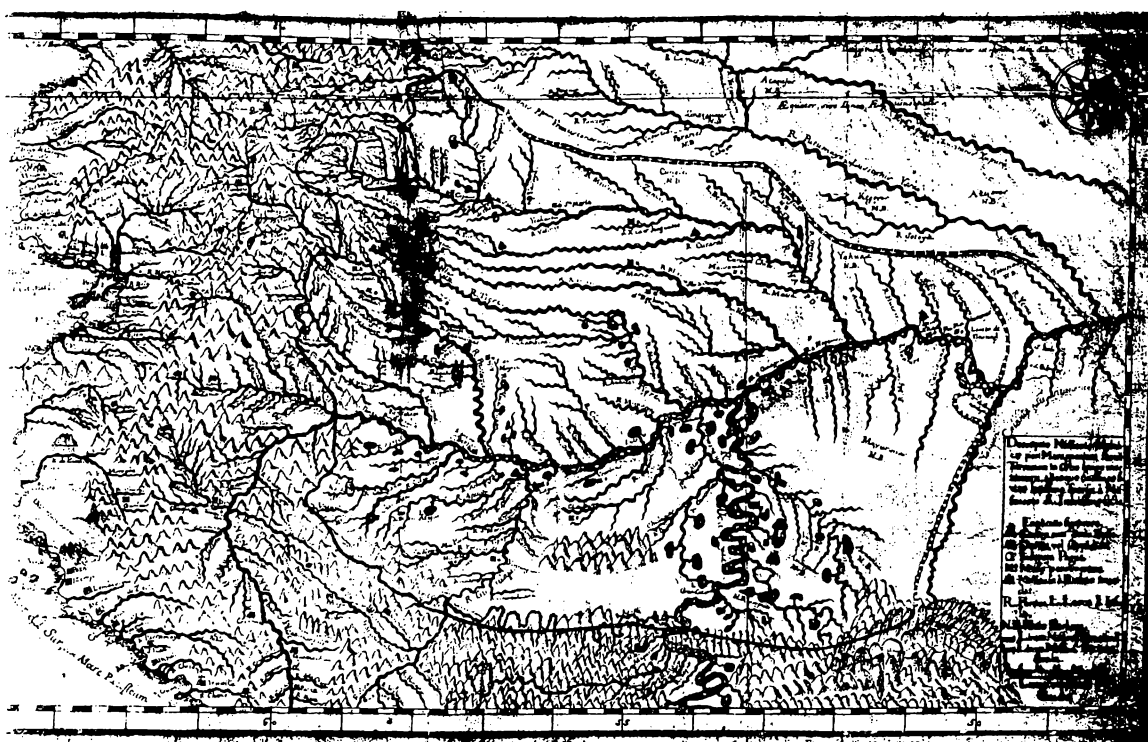
11. Juan Baegert, Map of the California missions from his *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien* (Mannheim, 1773).



12. Samuel Fritz, *Mapa del gran Río Marañon* (Quito, 1707).



13. [Samuel Fritz] "Plan de la rivière de Marañon ou rivière des Amazones" (The Newberry Library)



14. Francisco Xavier Weigl, "Descriptio Missionis", from P. Chantre y Herrera, *Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañon español*, 1637-1767 (Madrid, 1901).

The province of Chile

The administrative history of this province is rather complex, since from 1607 to 1625 it was part of the province of Paraguay, and from 1625 to 1683 a vice-province dependent on Peru. Still, the main focus of its activity was in the area south of Santiago, in the regions inhabited by Araucanians, Chileans and Patagonians.³⁸ The first Jesuit map of Chile was by Luis de Valdivia (1560-1642), and has been lost. But Alonso de Ovalle (1601-1651) produced a *Tabula geographica regni Chile* (plate 20) to accompany his *Histórica Relación* published at Rome in 1646, and this map served as an example for many later ones.³⁹ It is oriented eastwards, with the Río de la Plata at the top left, and shows the coastal cities in their correct order and at much the correct latitude. The interior is largely schematic, but there is in any case no rich hinterland ripe for missionary activity, as there was at Quito.

Ovalle also included detailed maps with his *Histórica Relación*, showing the ports of Valparaíso, Concepción, Quintero and Coquimbo, the islands of Mocha and Santa Maria, and the archipelago of Chiloé.⁴⁰ His general map of the western coast was incorporated into many of the maps produced by Jesuits in the province of Paraguay, as we shall see.

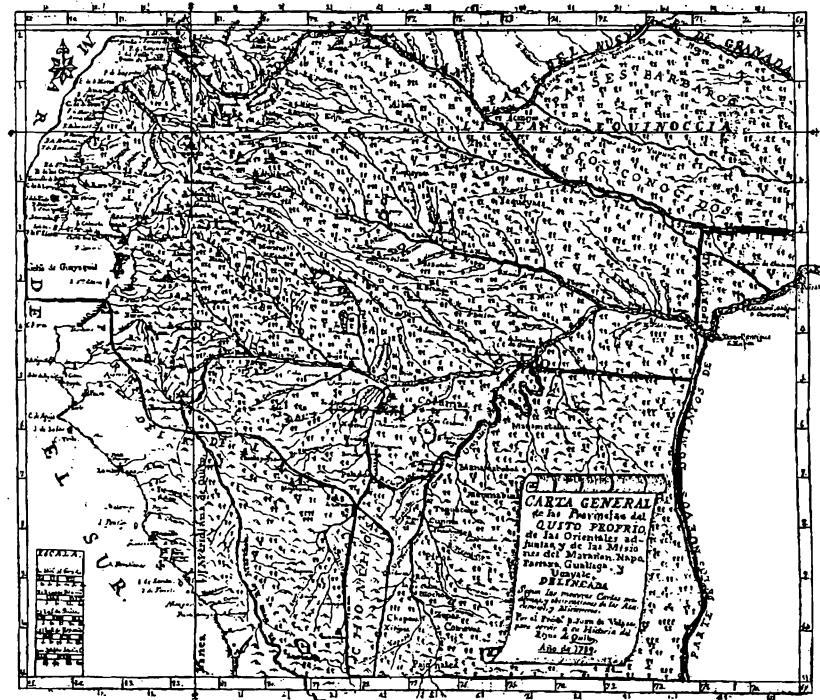
Ovalle had visualized the long coastline with an eastward-oriented map, but in 1771 Bernhard Havestadt (1714-1781) published a north-oriented map (plate 21) to set out his travels between 1751 and 1752, and to accompany his *Chilidugu* (3 vols., 1777). This map runs from the Río Maule at 35 degrees 30 minutes north, south as far as 39 degrees, indicating the various rivers and towns on the way. Havestadt intended this coastal area to be the backbone for his delineation of the hills and their Indian villages, among which he carefully marked set-

³⁸ See in general Walter Hanisch Espíndola, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile (1593-1955)* (Buenos Aires, 1974).

³⁹ See, for instance, the map by Sanson reproduced by Furlong, *Cartografía Jesuítica*, map 5.

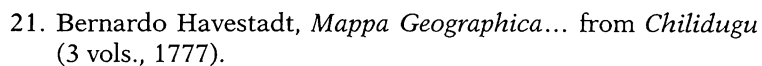
⁴⁰ These maps are reproduced by Francisco Vindel in *Mapas de América en los Libros Españoles* (Madrid, 1965).

lements with symbols, and his track with a set of numbers. He eventually crossed the ridge of the Andes, and travelled among the villages on the other side, where he marks the "Nudquen Fl." or Río Neuquen, in what is now Argentina. This ingenious map brilliantly accompanied his text, which is a Treatise on the language of the region.



15. Juan de Velasco, *Carta general*... 1789

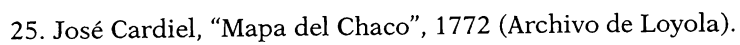
18. Javier Iraizoz [?], *Misión de Mojos* (1756).

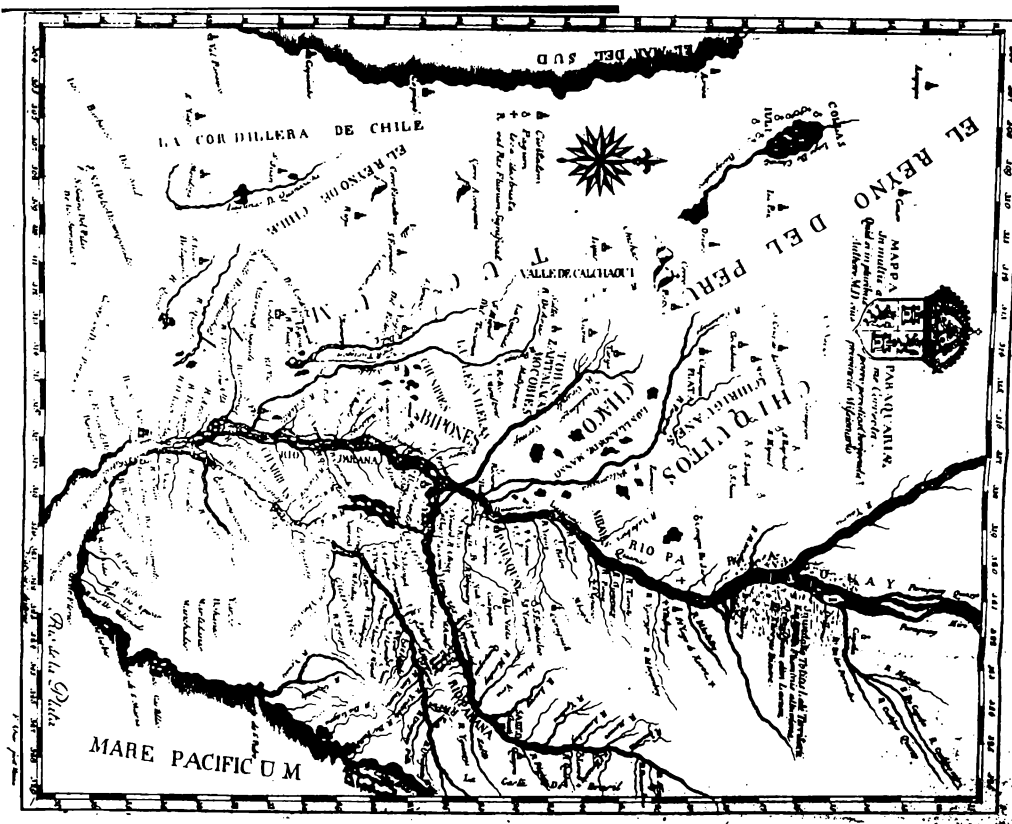


21. Bernardo Havestadt, *Mappa Geographica...* from *Chilidugu* (3 vols., 1777).

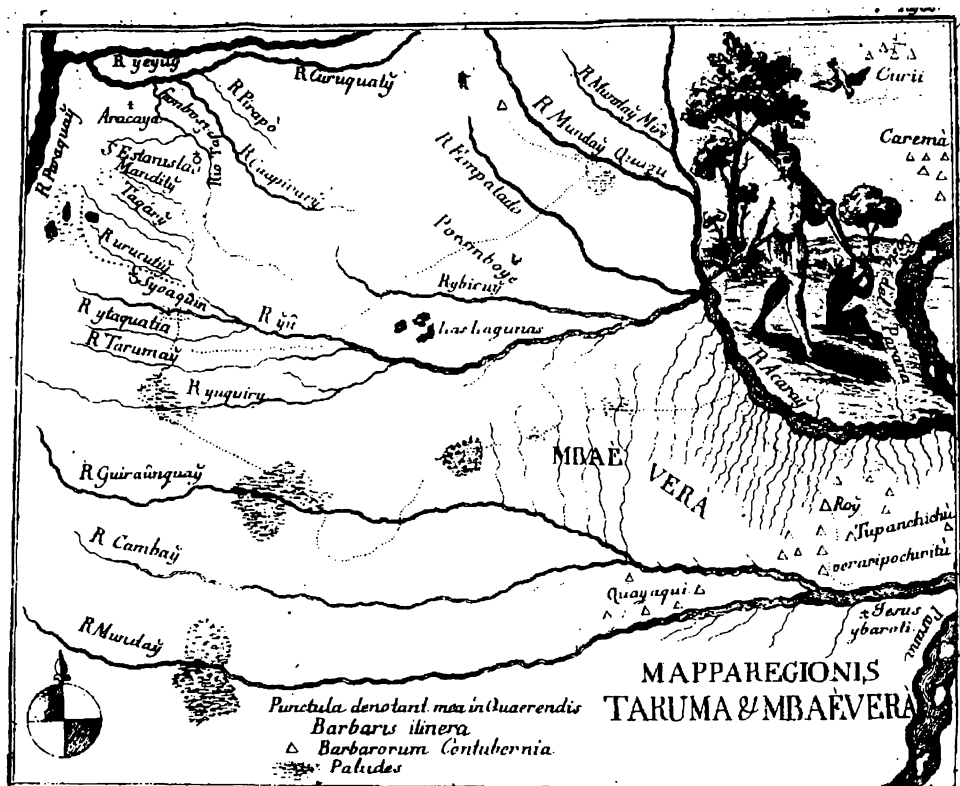


22. Joannes Blaeu, *Paraquaria vulgo Paraguay* (Amsterdam, 1647).

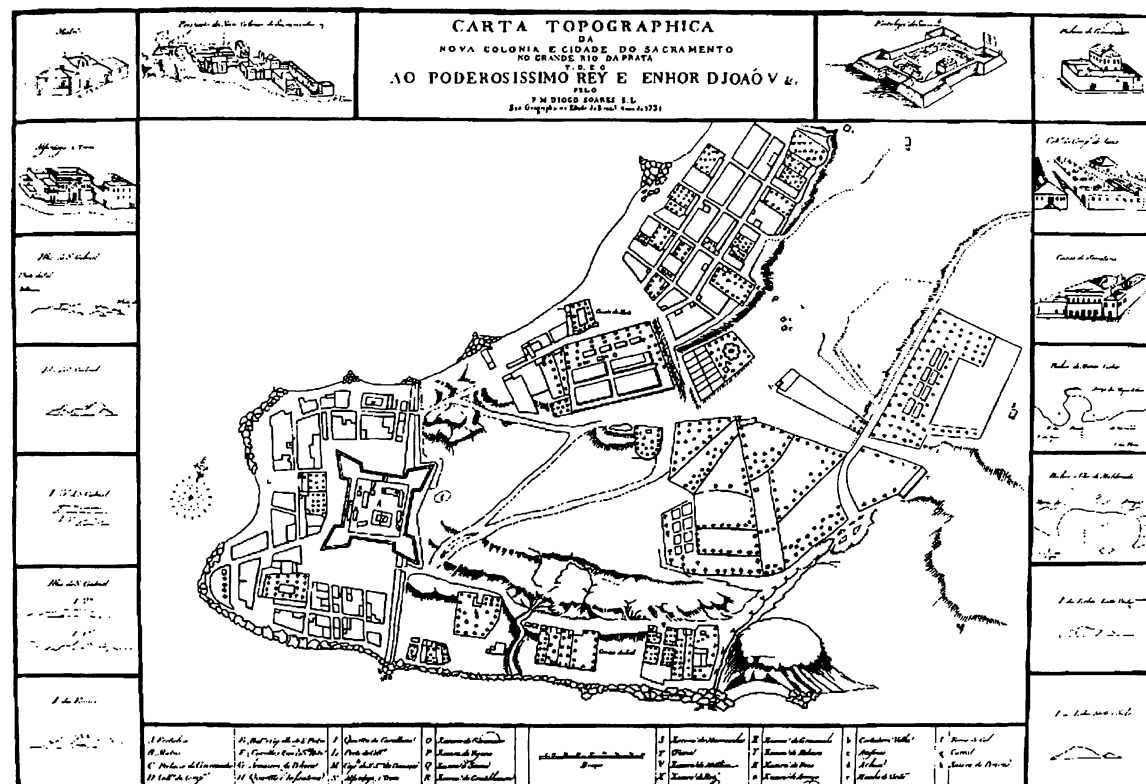




26. Martino Dobrizhoffer, *Mappa Paraguariae* (Vienna, 1784).



27. Martino Dobrizhoffer, *Mappa Regionis Taruma et Mbae vera* (Vienna, 1784).



30. Diogo Soares, "Carta Topographica ... do Sacramento", 1731 (Archivo Militar, Rio de Janeiro).

The province of Paraguay

This vast province, which at times covered much of the present countries of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, was mapped by the Jesuits with the same care that they brought to the northern frontier of Mexico.⁴¹ Juan Romero (1560-1630), one of the earliest superiors, made a map around 1600 that has been lost. The Belgian, Luis Ernot (1598-1667), also composed a map of the Paraguay region, but this too has been lost, so that for the early years we have to rely on commercial printed maps to discover what cartographic activity was going on among the Jesuits.

The most striking of these maps is no doubt *Paraquaria vulgo Paraguay*, published by Blaeu in 1647 and dedicated to the Jesuit superior general Vincenzo Caraffa (1585-1649) (plate 22). It shows the watersheds of the various rivers emerging at Río de la Plata, accurately setting out the courses of the Ríos Paraguay, Paraná and Uruguay. The names of the chief native peoples are noted, as are the sites of towns not yet reached by the missionaries. Both Spanish cities and Jesuit reductions are shown, both existing and destroyed ones; there is also a sign for Franciscan missions. Any map covering territory of this extent was bound to be inaccurate in its details, but the whole work would have given Carraffa a remarkable overview of Jesuit work in the province of Paraguay.⁴²

A more detailed and specific map of the central area was published by José Quiroga (1707-1784) in 1749 at Rome (plate 23). Called a *Mapa de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en los Ríos Paraná y Uruguay*, it gave the latitude and longitude of 36 major settlements, and set out the position of the native tribes more fully than had been done on the Blaeu map of 1647.⁴³

While some Jesuits were drawing these small-scale maps

⁴¹ It is well covered by Furlong, *Cartografía Jesuítica*; see also his *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense* (Montevideo, 1933).

⁴² Member of an old Neapolitan family, Caraffa would have been familiar with the use of large-scale maps.

⁴³ On Quiroga, see also the map analyzed by Julio Guillén in "Cuatro Cartas Jesuíticas de la Región Magallánica," *Revista de Indias*, 6 (1941) 67-80. On the region in general, see Guillén's *Monumenta Chartographica Indiana* (Madrid, 1942).

of whole regions, others were sketching in the details of their restricted mission-areas. Plate 24 thus shows a map by Bernhard Nusdorffer (1686-1762) of the "ranches belonging to the missionary pueblos to the west of the Uruguay river." It shows the area bounded on the west by the Río Uruguay, on the north by the Río Ubicuy, and on the south by the Río Negro; this is the region on plate 23 inhabited by "Bohanes" and "Ganoas."

Nusdorffer was born in Bavaria, and came to the Río de la Plata in 1717, becoming provincial of Paraguay between 1743 and 1747. On his maps he shows with a dotted line various journeys that he made, and which correspond with the "Relación" that he wrote about his experiences.⁴⁴ According to Furlong, Nussdorffer gives an accurate impression of the rivers and hills, though his map has no formal scale.

Some of the Jesuits in this province drew maps at both a large and a small scale. José Cardiel (1704-1781), for instance, about 1770 drew a "mapa de las Misiones del Paraguay" covering the whole area.⁴⁵ Two years later he drew a detailed "Mapa del Chaco" (plate 25), showing the area west of the confluence of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers. On it he carefully marked cities and *reducciones*, both existing and destroyed, in the valleys of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo rivers. Most of his sites are clearly recognizable on modern maps of the area, though it would take a local specialist to ascertain if the information about settlements was accurate.

Another Jesuit capable of producing maps at a variety of scales was Martin Dobrizhoffer (1718-1791), a native of Bohemia who went to Argentina in 1749. He worked in the missions from 1750 until the expulsion of 1767, and in 1784 published at Vienna his *Historia de Abiponibus*. It contained three maps of great interest. The first, *Mappa Paraquariae* (plate 26), showed the whole region with its Indian peoples. Major cities and mission stations were carefully marked, as were the "loca destructa," or destroyed missions. These are in the upper courses of the Paraguay and Parana rivers, where the Portuguese slave

⁴⁴ Furlong, *Cartografía Jesuítica*, 80-81.

⁴⁵ On Cardiel, see Furlong and also the works by Guillén cited in note 43.

traders had succeeded in destroying some missions after the boundary settlement of 1750 between the Spanish and Portuguese governments.

Dobrizhoffer's second map is entitled *Mappa Regionis Taruma et Mbaevera* (plate 27), and shows the area where he worked, between the Paraná and Paraguay rivers. The Río Paraná may be seen at the extreme right, and the Río Paraguay on the far left. Dobrizhoffer offers us a delineation of this marshy and desolate area, which is still very empty. He carefully marks the marshes, and with a dotted line shows his own travels. The settlements of the native peoples are marked with triangles, and the map has an immediacy which makes us understand why the empress Maria Theresa found Dobrizhoffer's work so fascinating.⁴⁶ His third map, *Colonia Abiponum* (plate 28), drawn on August 2nd, 1765, shows the actual mission alongside the Río Paraguay, in which he worked among the Abipone Indians. The palisaded enclosure appears to be under siege, in some military engagement of which we have no record.

Dobrizhoffer had to leave the province of Paraguay with his colleagues in the expulsion of 1767. But during their roughly two hundred-year presence in Paraguay, the Jesuits had not only established a remarkable network of missionary stations but had also succeeded in advancing the cartographic knowledge of this very difficult country.

The province of Brazil

The Jesuit cartographers of Brazil have not had any historian like Burrus for Mexico or Furlong for Paraguay. We are consequently reduced to picking up such references as we may from Serafim Leite's great *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (10 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1938-1950).

A map of the region, now lost, was drawn by Jacobo Cocleo (born Jacques Cocle, 1628-1710), who came from Reims

⁴⁶ According to José Manuel Peramás, *La República de Platón y los Guaraníes* (Buenos Aires, n.d.).

in France arrived in Brazil in 1660 and became Rector of the College of Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁷ Two other maps are attributed to Domingo Cappassi (1694-1736), who came to Brazil in 1729 and had the title of “matemático régis.”⁴⁸ Capassi’s companion on the voyage was Diogo Soares (1684-1748), who was a geographer, cartographer and naturalist, to whom about 30 maps are attributed. Among Soares’ titles was that of “Geógrafo de Sua Majestade,” and he seems to have been a very competent cartographer, with a wide range of expertise. Plate 29 shows his map of the Río de la Plata.⁴⁹ Montevideo is shown on the north bank, and Buenos Aires on the southern one. Figures for soundings mark the main channels, and two wind-roses suggest that the map may have been compiled by taking compass-bearings from these spots. This elegant map is completed by a cartouche showing the arms of the king of Portugal, to whom the map is dedicated.

Soares could also delineate urban areas with great skill. Plate 30 shows his plan of the town of Sacramento, on the Río de la Plata opposite Buenos Aires.⁵⁰ The town is carefully sketched in, using scale and orientation, and the border is used to give both landfall views and bird’s-eye views of buildings in the town. Soares was a most accomplished cartographer/topographer; no doubt there were others like him, whom it has not been possible to trace.

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been possible to give only a bald summary of Jesuit mapping in central and south America.⁵¹ In

⁴⁷ Leite, *História*, 8:160-162.

⁴⁸ Leite, *op. cit.*, 8:130-132.

⁴⁹ Furlong, *Cartografía Jesuítica*, 51-53.

⁵⁰ Furlong, *op. cit.*, 50-51.

⁵¹ For North America, there is the very extensive recent exhibit by Jacqueline Peterson called *Sacred Encounters*, which offers a new assessment of the life and work in the Northwest of Pieter Jan DeSmet (1801-1873).

truth, a full account would be extraordinarily difficult to compile, since fresh material is constantly coming to light.⁵² There were so many Jesuits in the New World, and so many of them had high cartographic skills that it is virtually impossible fully to catalogue their production.

Nevertheless, even a bald summary allows us to come to some conclusions concerning the nature of the work. Beginning at a time when European cartography of the interior regions hardly existed, the Jesuits eventually compiled usable maps of huge areas of central and south America. These maps showed their cities and missions, but also in many cases set out the location of indigenous groups; the degree to which local people contributed to the maps remains an open question.

Why do the Jesuits seem to have been so prominent in this development? There were other orders which attained equal or greater prominence in other areas; the Franciscans, for instance, produced a remarkable architecture in which indigenous and European influences were most cunningly combined.⁵³ No other order, though, combined to the same degree a highly centralized direction with an almost obsessive concern with the natural sciences. The system of provincials reporting to a superior in Rome was tightly organized; frequent reports were demanded, and maps were drawn as a natural accompaniment to these reports, since they summarize spatial information far better than the written word.

The maps could not have been drawn, though, had it not been for the emphasis in Jesuit studies on geographical and cartographic knowledge. By a sort of accident, many of the Jesuits best trained in these studies — coming from central

⁵² Much of this material appears in the catalogues of map dealers and is then lost to sight. Three recent examples: A manuscript map of 1739 by Fernando Consag (whom we have met above), a manuscript map by the Jesuit "Haro" of the missions of Arizpo, 1755, and another manuscript map by the Jesuit Pedro de Ormedo or Olmedo of the route from San Antonio to Durango, c. 1760.

⁵³ See the analysis by George Kubler in *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (various editions, 1940-1973). On present evidence, Jesuit cartography was very little influenced by local mapping traditions.

Europe — found themselves in the least chartered areas of the Americas. As a consequence, they produced a corpus of maps that was unrivalled before the great development of large-scale mapping in the nineteenth-century national states.

Acknowledgements It would have been impossible to undertake this study without the guidance of John Aubrey, of the Newberry Library, Chicago. I have also profited much from the observations of Professors Ursula Lamb and Hank Dobyns and indeed from the remarks made by participants in the Loyola conference.

**FROM MISSIONARIES TO SEIGNEURS:
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUITS TO
THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER VALLEY
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

MARY ANN LA FLEUR

[You] need not be surprised to have received no letters from us during the year... for we are so remote from the seacoast that we are visited only once a year by a French vessel... During the past year we have devoted ourselves to... cultivating the soil, in order to obtain such means of subsistence, [and to gaining] a knowledge of the country, of the natives, and of the dialects of two tribes... As regards to the French, whose numbers do not exceed forty-three, we have not been negligent. We have heard their general confessions... [and] each month we have... preached two sermons to them. We are, God be thanked, all well... [but] hardly one of us uses bed linen when he sleeps. There remain... seven of us here;... all... ready to undertake any labors whatsoever for the glory of God.¹

Thus wrote Charles Lalemant², the Society of Jesus Superior of the Missions of Canada, 1625-1629, to his General at Rome in 1626. His letter describes the beginning of both the French Jesuit initiative on the St. Lawrence River and the colony of New France.³ This article examines the role of the

¹ Edna Kenton, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, (New York: Boni, 1925), 11-12.

² Charles Lalemant. B. 17 November, 1587, Paris; e. 29 July 1607, Rouen; d. 18 November 1674, Paris.

³ The impact of France and the Society of Jesus on the St. Lawrence prior to the 1630's was minimal. Québec was established as a fur depot in 1608 and the Society of Jesus arrived a few years later in New France at Port Royal, Nova Scotia (Acadia) in 1611. The first Jesuit missionaries in the colony were Pierre Biard, b. 1567/8, Grenoble; e. 3 June 1583, Tounon; d. 17 November 1622, Avignon; and Énemond Massé, b. 3 August 1575, Lyon; e. 22 August 1595, Avignon; d. 12 May 1646, Sillery. These Jesuits concluded

Society of Jesus in the colonization and settlement of the St. Lawrence region in the seventeenth century by addressing two topics: first, the problematic relationship between the French Crown and the Society of Jesus in order to demonstrate how this relationship encouraged colonization and settlement by the order; second, the settlement of the region by French Catholic settlers known as *habitants* as part of the Jesuits' missionary program, a process that contributed to the colonization and settlement of the St. Lawrence region.

The Jesuits' strategy for converting the Indians was developed with the arrival in 1632 of Paul Le Jeune⁴, a refined seventeenth-century intellectual and the first Superior (1632-1639) to Québec.⁵ Initially, Le Jeune proposed a program that involved learning the Indian languages and customs, establishing boarding schools for both sexes, building a hospital, teaching agriculture to encourage a sedentary mode of life among the Indians, and — significant for the colonization and settlement of the St. Lawrence region — introducing French colonists to serve as models for the Indians. This policy would be adapted and changed with time.⁶

that the Indians must be made sedentary for conversion to take place. Paul Le Jeune would later incorporate their suggestion into his strategy for converting the Indians.

Several years later in 1629 Québec was taken over by the English. The Jesuits did not return to Québec until 1632, when Québec was returned to the French. The Recollets initially had been given the job of Christianizing the Indians, but Cardinal Richelieu replaced them with Jesuits. Following the return of the colony to France in 1632, Paul Le Jeune was sent as Superior of the Jesuits in New France.

⁴ Paul Le Jeune. B. July 1591, Vitry-le-François; e. 22 September, 1613; d. 7 August 1664, Paris.

⁵ Le Jeune is also recognized as the founder of the Jesuit missions in Canada. The Jesuits, Charles Lallemant and Énemond Massé arrived in Québec in 1625 with Jean de Brébeuf, b. 25 March 1593, Condé-sur-Vire; e. 1617, Rouen; d. 16 March 1649, Saint-Ignace (Midland, Ontario). Their effect was minimal along the St. Lawrence, in part, because of the English conquest of Québec in 1629.

⁶ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 54, 57, 62, 77-78; Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Toronto: McGill, 1987), 467-473; J. H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France: An Important Phase of North American Colonial History* (New

The French Crown, having experienced the fervor of the Catholic Reformation, the Council of Trent, and King Henry IV's return to the Catholic Church, closely linked loyalty to the Crown with the New Catholicism. Applied to colonization, this meant conversion of the savages and the dissemination of the New Catholicism to French Catholics in New France. The Jesuits gained the support of the French Crown with the appointment of Pierre Coton,⁷ a Jesuit, as confessor to Henry IV.⁸ Coton persuaded Henry IV to send the Jesuits to New France as missionaries after the Recollets had failed.⁹ Sharing similar objectives, the Society of Jesus and the French Crown became willing bedfellows "for the greater glory of God" and France.

The Crown viewed the Society as a willing ally and ambassador of French goodwill toward the Indians. In 1633, Champlain addressed the Council of the Huron Tribe, announcing that the Jesuits would visit the Huron as "proof of the

Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 62. Axtell and Trigger do a fine job of tracing the evolution of the Jesuit conversion policy towards the Indians. While the Jesuits continued to believe in a need to settle the colony, they abandoned the idea of settling French colonists with the Indians because they were a bad influence on the Indians. Trigger (468), however, does not believe that this was the Jesuits' policy. The question may be one of interpretation. The fact remains that land was given to French settlers in the Indian settlement of Sillery. These individuals had been selected by the Jesuits. The Jesuits initially followed the Indians. However, very soon they evaluated this policy as being ineffective and modified it under Le Jeune. His program initially involved a conscious effort to convert the Indians to French language, customs, and religion. It should be noted that, while Le Jeune was but one man, the hierarchical structure of the order and the vow of obedience required all Jesuits to follow his lead. (Le Jeune is responsible for producing the first eleven of the Jesuit *Relations*. These represent the period when the missions flourished.).

⁷ Pierre Coton. B. 7 March 1564, Nerondé (Loire); e. 30 September 1583, Arone (Milan); d. 19 March 1626, Paris.

⁸ Initially, Coton had been placed in the court as a security precaution to guarantee the Jesuits' good behavior in the country after being brought back into France by Henry IV. Coton and Henry IV developed a relationship which led Henry IV to make Coton his spiritual advisor and thus his confidant.

⁹ Kennedy, 39.

[French] affection." The Jesuits also served as ambassadors to various tribes for the French Crown.¹⁰ This cooperative relationship between the Society of Jesus and the French Crown continued in relative harmony until 1663, when Québec became a royal colony.¹¹ The Society of Jesus also enjoyed a compatible relationship with the trading company, the Company of One Hundred Associates, for similar reasons.¹² The

¹⁰ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* [hereafter *JR*], (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 5:251; 8:49. In another instance, two Jesuits in 1651 were commissioned by the Council of Québec as its ambassadors to the authorities of New England to propose a commercial agreement between the French and the English. *JR.*, 42:37, 41; 44:97-99, 117-119, 323.

¹¹ Even after New France became a royal colony in 1663, the Crown, acknowledging the success of the Jesuits with the Indians, continued to support their efforts to convert the Iroquois through land grants with the hope of gaining allies and ending the Iroquois attacks on the colony. However, after 1663, the amount of land granted to the Jesuits began to decline until by the end of the seventeenth century the policy of granting land to the Society of Jesus ended. Québec, *Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure*, in *Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly*, (Québec: E. R. Frechette, 1852), 348-349.

The Jesuits' success in converting the Indians, including the Iroquois, can be measured by the presence of the converted Iroquois who fought with the Hurons on the side of the French, and not the English, in the French and Indian War.

¹² The Society of Jesus returned as missionaries to the St. Lawrence in 1632 with the trading company of One Hundred Associates as agents of the Crown. The order, because of its sense of mission, military structure, and resources, was a more compatible and effective tool for the colonization and settlement of the St. Lawrence than the company, which also was responsible for the administration of the colony. The goals of the company were compatible with those of the Jesuits, namely, to spread Christianity, civilize the natives, establish royal authority, and populate the colony in return for a monopoly on trade

The company supported and encouraged the Jesuits because the Jesuits success with the Indians helped to maintain and expand the fur trade and because they were a civilizing force in the rather uncivilized world along the St. Lawrence. Moreover, the company's obligation to promote settlement and the Jesuits' belief that the presence of French settlers would hasten the conversion of the Indians fostered a compatible relationship. The company could not afford to support settlers; the Society, because of its resources, was able and willing to do so. Consequently, the settlers recruited by the Jesuits were to be subtracted from the total the company was required to send.

company willingly supported the Jesuits' efforts through land grants, as well as the construction and maintenance of their residences,¹³ and, if necessary, provision of supplies¹⁴ to insure their presence as the company expanded on the waterways of New France.¹⁵

The Crown supported the Society's efforts in New France through pensions, gratuities from customs duties, and concessions of land.¹⁶ Other supporters, caught up in the religious ardor of the seventeenth century, contributed money or goods and often land to support the Jesuits' missionary efforts. Land

The company willingly supported the Jesuits' efforts by building and maintaining their residences (*JR*, 6:79-81) and, if necessary, supplying their daily necessities, (*JR*, 6:79; 18:243) to insure their presence as the company expanded on the waterways of New France. When the company went bankrupt, only the Jesuits remained as the constant representatives of French authority on the St. Lawrence.

¹³ *JR*, 6:79-81.

¹⁴ *JR*, 6:79; 18:243.

¹⁵ The Company of One Hundred Associates was formed in 1627. The French Crown sent the company and the Society of Jesus to the St. Lawrence as agents to the Crown to colonize and settle the colony. The goals of the Company of One Hundred Associates and the fur trade proved to be inconsistent with the goals of the Crown. Thus, the trading company did not encourage the settlement of the St. Lawrence, but it did successfully establish the settlement pattern (seigneurial system) along the river providing for the distribution of land for settlers. Moreover, the fur trade in itself established a positive economic interdependence with the Indians which encouraged stability along the St. Lawrence and loyalty to the French.

Initially the Company provided funds for church ornaments for the Jesuits. Perhaps due to the financial hardship of the company they stopped making contributions and paid the Jesuits a pension of 600 livres a year for each priest at each mission. *JR*, 42:269-273.

When the company went bankrupt in 1645, it was taken over by the *Communaute des Habitants* until New France became a royal colony in 1663 and its charter was relinquished to the French Crown under King Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, his minister.

¹⁶ Kenton, 315. The Society of Jesus, at the end of the seventeenth century (1701), reported that they received a pension of 5,000 livres, 315 livres in gratuities from custom duties, and another 1,500 livres in charitable donations from "his Majesty." Their total income for the year was 13,145 livres which helped to support forty-eight priests, nine domestics and fourteen servants.

grants and financial support provided a foundation for their role as land developers and seigneurs in the St. Lawrence region. Land was distributed through the seigneurial system to seigneurs, in this case to the Society, who in turn redistributed parcels of the land in the form of *concessions* to *habitants*.

The first concession of land to the Society of Jesus was Notre Dame des Anges, granted on 10 March 1626, by Duc de Ventadour, Viceroy of New France.¹⁷ The concession was granted to the Jesuits in recognition of their past efforts in the colony to convert the Indians and because the French Crown wanted to convert the Indians to Catholicism.¹⁸ From that time, the order received periodic grants of some of the best land on the St. Lawrence until, by the end of the seventeenth century, it possessed 98.4% of the nearly one million arpents¹⁹ of land it would own by the close of the French Regime in 1759, making the order clearly the largest landowner in Canada.²⁰ In return, the Jesuits Christianized and brought *civilisation française* to

¹⁷ Kennedy, 176. Henri de Levis de Ventadour's confessor was a Jesuit. De Ventadour subsidized the second expedition of the Jesuits in 1625 and then gave them land in Québec. In 1629 he became a canon at Notre Dame in Paris. He was given the right to dispose of his property and continued to aid the Jesuits missions until his death in 1680.

¹⁸ The text reads: "... desired on... New France... [that] the Christian, Catholic apostolic and Roman religion be received there, [and be] embraced... by the savages." Québec, *Titles and Documents*, 343.

¹⁹ An arpent is 5/6 of an English acre.

²⁰ Roy C. Dalton, *The Jesuits' Estates Question, 1760-1888: A Study of the Background for the Agitation of 1889*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 76-77. Dalton lists all the properties owned by the Society of Jesus. This chart indicates that all but 15,292 arpents of the nearly one million arpents of land owned by the Jesuits by the end of the French Regime were under their direct control by the end of the seventeenth century. For additional discussion of the amount of land owned by the Jesuits at various points in the seventeenth century, see Richard Colebrook Harris, *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study*, (Madison, 1966) 42; Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524-1663*, translated by Patricia Claxton (Toronto, 1973), 246-56; Axtell, 39. For a discussion of land and methodology for tracing ownership of Jesuit landholdings, see Mary Ann La Fleur, "Seventeenth Century New England and New France in Comparative Perspective: Notre Dame des Anges, A Case Study," (Durham, University of New Hampshire, Ph.D. 1987), 25-35.

the Indians. It should be noted here that, while New France was a vast colony, settlement was restricted to approximately 120 miles along the St. Lawrence from Québec to Montréal; moreover, much of this land was in the hands of the Jesuits. While the Jesuits held various types of land holdings in New France, they held nine seigneuries over which they were seigneurs.²¹

The Jesuit plan for converting the Indians rested, in part, on the ability of the colony to attract French settlers. In attempting to implement their plan, the Jesuits actively encouraged settlement of the colony. *The Jesuit Relations*, the official record of Jesuit activities in New France, was carefully edited for publication and distribution in France. As a vehicle for propaganda, it was the means by which the Jesuits influenced both the Crown and the general population.²²

Beginning as early as 1616, the Jesuits attempted to persuade the Crown to settle the colony.²³ In 1635 and again in 1636, Le Jeune wrote two appeals to encourage settlement, "Reasons Why the Cultivation of New France Ought to be Undertaken in Earnest"²⁴ and "How it is a Benefit to Both Old and New France to Send Colonies Here."²⁵ Both were similar in structure and objective.²⁶ In both appeals, perhaps attuned to the interests of the Crown, he addressed "temporal" issues first: nationalism, competition with other European powers, the

²¹ These seigneuries were Notre Dame des Anges, Coteau St. Louis, Batiscan, Laprarie, St. Gabriel, Sillery, Cap de la Madeleine, and Sault St. Louis. The Society did own other seignerries temporarily and other types of properties.

²² Leon Pouliot, "Paul Le Jeune" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V. I, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 453-457. According to Pouliot, "... the aim [of the Jesuit Relations was] to attract sympathy and temporal and spiritual benefactors for the Jesuit missions in New France." Trigger, 472.

²³ *JR*, 4:11-117. This piece was written by Pierre Biard and entitled, "Reasons Why the Cultivation of New France Ought to be Undertaken in Earnest." These earlier Relations were included by Thwaites, but the Relations usually refers to the annual publications between 1632-1672.

²⁴ *JR*, 4:111-117.

²⁵ *JR*, 5:13-15.

²⁶ *JR*, 5:13-15.

actual and potential wealth of the colony, and the need for establishing settlers in towns to assist in the conversion of the savages.²⁷ To encourage French immigration to the colony, in 1636 Le Jeune wrote "Some Advice to Those Who Desire to Cross Over Into New France."²⁸ Le Jeune's advice, addressed to both "people of means, [and] poor people," was published and circulated throughout France.

In addition to promoting the settlement of a French colony in New France, the Jesuits stressed the importance of clearing the land²⁹ and of making cleared land available to settlers.³⁰ In doing so, they encouraged the development of the colony. Beginning with their return to the colony in 1632, they actively worked to clear the land for settlement. In 1636, Le Jeune projected that four men could clear eight arpents in a year.³¹ By 1663 the Jesuits, according to their own records, had cleared 1,464 arpents.³² They calculated that there may have had more than twenty-six men cutting wood year round for thirty-one years. While this may have been the case, in all likelihood the order merely encouraged the clearing of the land, in some

²⁷ Le Jeune, moreover, saw the presence of these towns as a means to support Jesuit activities with other tribes in the interior and as a force that would influence the conversion of the Indians. The text reads:

As to the stationary tribes farther back in the interior, we would go in great numbers to succor them; and would have much more authority; and less fear, if we felt that we had the support of these Towns or Villages. The more imposing the power of our French people is made in these Countries, the more easily they can make their belief received by these Barbarians, who are influenced even more through the senses, than through reason.
JR, 5:15.

²⁸ *JR*, 9:185-191.

²⁹ *JR*, 9:189.

³⁰ *JR*, 8:15. The text reads, "But it seems necessary that a great extent of forest should be converted into tillable land, before introducing many families, otherwise famine will consume them."

³¹ *JR*, 9:187.

³² *JR*, 47:259. This figure does not include Sillery. The amount of cleared land in Sillery was not mentioned.

cases, by placing that requirement in the concession agreement.

In 1658, when Pierre Normand received a *concession* of land in the settlement of Canardiere in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges, it included two arpents of cleared land³³ that would have allowed him to build a house and barn and to plant a small garden. Normand, by the terms of the *concession* contract, was required to clear two arpents of land within a year in a nearby lot in return for receiving cleared land. This pattern, while not universal in Notre Dame, is evident in the early development of that *seigneurie*. The clearing and the promotion of the clearing of the land by the Society had the effect of increasing the value of its property while attracting settlers to its lands. The clearing of the land was no easy feat, given the labor-intensive effort required, the labor shortage evident in the colony, and the relatively few Jesuits in the colony.³⁴

The transition of the Jesuits from missionaries to seigneurs was a natural progression. Their plan for conversion required that the Indians adapt to a sedentary life. The Jesuits, because of their "good intentions... and... great care... of... the... Indians,"³⁵ seemed likely candidates to receive land for this purpose, and they did. Under their direction, Indians settled on the land and some Hurons were even persuaded to clear and cultivate the land.³⁶ The Jesuits' role as seigneurs was prompted by

³³ Archives Nationale du Québec, Notaires des Greffes, Vachon, April 22, 1658.

³⁴ There was thirty-two Jesuits and eleven brothers in 1688; and forty-eight religious in 1701. The Jesuits, however, as early as 1634 had begun to accept "donnes" (hired servants) to assist them in their efforts. The *donnes*, particularly with the advent of the Iroquois, acted as soldiers for the Jesuits. Axtell, 60-61.

³⁵ Québec, *Titles and Documents*, 187. The role of Jesuits is more fully developed in La Fleur, 25-27, and, specifically in Notre Dame des Anges, 139-145, 153-185; Harris discusses the seigneurial holdings of the Jesuits and related information including their seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges on 43, 57, 66-68, 71, 80, 108, 135, 141, 146-47, 179, 186, and 191.

³⁶ Beginning in 1637, the Jesuits began to develop St. Joseph or Sillery for the sedentary Hurons. Sillery was located approximately four miles outside of Québec City. By 1663, Sillery is referred to as the "first and principal station of the Christians." The Jesuit attempts at Sillery to make the Indians sedentary were minimal. Axtell, 61.

their belief that missionary activities must have a secure agricultural base, both to obviate the threat of famine that plagued the colony and to serve as a model for the efficacy of sedentary living.³⁷

Harassment by the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence escalated until, in 1649, they destroyed the sedentary Hurons, who had been the Jesuits' greatest success among the Indians. With the fall of the Hurons fell the best hope of the Canadian mission and the Jesuit dream of a Christian empire³⁸ on the St. Lawrence. They then focused their missionary activities on the Iroquois, consolidating their holdings on the St. Lawrence as the Iroquois continued to threaten the colony.

With the threat of the Iroquois and the failure of the Jesuit mission at Notre Dame des Anges, the Jesuits began in 1647 to develop this, their first *seigneurie*. Notre Dame was to serve as the agricultural base for the order, providing an income through seigneurial dues, as well as a buffer for the town of Québec.

While the *Jesuit Relations* does not outline a policy towards land development or settlement, perhaps a clue is found in Le Jeune's statement, "I have always thought that our forces should not be divided, and that one house should be made successful, which might afterward be the support to the others"³⁹ A review of land grants by the Society of Jesus suggests

The Jesuits, however, began to experiment with French settlements with the granting of their first concession of Notre Dame des Anges in 1647. It appears, moreover, that they did not develop a systematic approach to settlement until around 1649.

³⁷ Axtell, 89. During their early missionary activities, the Society of Jesus had been dependent on the tribes for food, but the development of an agricultural base freed the Jesuits from a dependency on both the Indians and the Company of One Hundred Associates.

³⁸ Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1898), 550.

³⁹ *JR*, 6:77. Also, Father Jérôme Lalemant, superior of the order from 1645 to 1650, appears to have followed a similar approach when he removed the Jesuits, in the West, from the Indian villages. He systematically planned a centralized residence at Sainte Marie (Midland, Ontario) to remove them from the threat of massacre occasioned by their continued presence among the Hurons. Sainte Marie became a farm and base to support the Jesuits' missionary efforts. Prior to deciding on a location for the Jesuit residence, Lalemant completed a census of the Huron Indians and systematically plot-

that such a policy did exist in the creation of Notre Dame des Anges, and that the Jesuits applied their talents to the process of settlement in their other seigneuries as well.

In Notre Dame, after some initial experimentation, they created and reproduced their ideal community, consisting of about 960 square arpents and containing twenty-four lots of approximately forty arpents each. To encourage settlement the Jesuits offered cleared land in some areas of development to *habitants*. Settlement was made en masse, was compact, and was focused on the development of one community at a time.⁴⁰ The Society, moreover, used Notre Dame des Anges to experiment with different settlement patterns, the *côte*, *étoile*, and *demi-étoile*.⁴¹ The *côte*, a common settlement pattern found in the colony, was characterized by a short line of settlement along a river or a road.⁴²

Notre Dame des Anges is unique among seigneuries in that the *étoile*, similar to the traditional model New England village and the *demi-étoile* or half village, were found only in this seigneurie. Because of the threat from the Iroquois,⁴³ these patterns appear to be experiments in effective defense designs.⁴⁴ By 1672, with the return of relative peace, the Jesuits returned to the *côte* as a settlement pattern — a pattern they continued to use for the remainder of the century in Notre Dame.⁴⁵

ted the location of the Huron villages. He centralized them in their own residence from which the Jesuits were to radiate out to the various Huron villages (Huronie).

⁴⁰ La Fleur, 153-193. It should be noted, however, that while Notre Dame des Anges enjoyed relative success as a *seigneurie* this was more of the exception than the rule in seventeenth-century New France.

⁴¹ La Fleur, 153-193.

⁴² Harris, 229.

⁴³ Axtell, 48, 340 n22. The Iroquois in 1648-1649 attacked the Hurons and by 1649-1650 the Hurons were attempting to escape. Some moved near the fort at Québec and the Île d'Orléans. Only 300 Hurons, however, of an estimated 12,000 escaped. The greatest number of deaths occurred during the accelerated Iroquois offensives of 1650-53 and 1660-61.

⁴⁴ In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Intendant Jean Talon repeated this settlement pattern in the Crown confiscated lands in the eastern sector of Notre Dame.

⁴⁵ The key documents used in this part of the study were the notary records (*Notaires de Greffes*) of seventeenth-century New France. This includ-

A further review of Jesuit land grants reveals that during the seventeenth century they conceded over 300 clearly identifiable grants of land⁴⁶ on their various seigneuries. The settlement pattern adopted by the Jesuits focused on the development of one *seigneurie* at time, followed by mass settlement⁴⁷ in the larger seigneuries, with *habitants* settling on the land in minor waves.⁴⁸ Perhaps the Jesuits believed this strategy would assure them an immediate viable income in the form of feudal dues. They further employed a strategy of settling lands near large market areas and ports of entry at Québec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal in order to attract settlers.⁴⁹

While the term *mass settlement* is used in this paper, it needs clarification. The term *mass* is relative in the underpopulated colony of New France. Not all Jesuit seigneuries were developed or settled in the seventeenth century. For example, in the case of the seigneurie of Bastican, the Jesuits' initial settlement consisted of twenty-nine initial concessions granted in 1666 with subsequent concessions granted in 1671 (7) and 1674 (11) followed by a sprinkling of concessions scattered through-

ed the records of the following notaries: Henri Bancheron, Romain Becquet, Jean Robert Duprac, Pierre Duquet, François Genaple, Andre Genest, Charles Rageot, and Paul Vachon. Also, "Aveu et Dénombrement de la Seigneurie de Notre Dame des Anges fait 15e Jour d'October 1678," "Papier Terre et Forêt," "Déclaration des Terres que les Pere Jesuites Possèdent en La Nouvelle France, fait en Oct. 1672," and Papier Terrier of 1754. See also LaFleur, 21-35 for a discussion of some of the primary materials available dealing with New France.

⁴⁶ La Fleur, 21-35.

⁴⁷ La Fleur, 153-193. See note 43 for source.

⁴⁸ La Fleur, 25-27, 180. In 1649, the focus of development was Cap de Madeline; 1652 Sillery; 1658 and 1665 Notre Dame; 1666, 1671, 1674 Bastican; 1668 Lauzon; 1671, 1675, 1679, 1697-98 St. Gabriel; 1683 Sault au Mathelot; and between the years 1693-97 Prairie de la Magdelaine. The Jesuits in the seventeenth century owned other land held in fiefs or seigneuries that were not developed. These were: île de St. Christopher, île aux Ruaux, and Pacherigny. In total, 778,534 of the land in the possession of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century was in the form of fiefs or seigneuries.

⁴⁹ La Fleur, 25-27, 180. St. Gabriel 95 concessions, Sillery 8, Lauzon 5, La Prairie 44, Bastican 58, Cap de Madeleine 67, Notre Dame des Anges 95, Sault au Mathelot 8. Obviously, the degree of mass settlement was relative depending on the number of concessions granted.

out the remaining years of the seventeenth century. In la Prairie de la Magdelaine there were only a few scattered initial concessions until 1694 when mass settlement, that is, sixteen concessions, were granted. In the three years following 1694, subsequent minor waves consisted of five, six, and eight concessions respectively. And, not all Jesuit seigneuries were settled successfully in the seventeenth century; île aux Ruaux and île de St. Christophe had only one concession each.

The Society encouraged the construction of planned villages, a rare phenomenon in New France. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were only three villages along the St. Lawrence; two of these, Charlesbourg located in Notre Dame des Anges and La Prairie de la Magdeleine located in the seigneurie of the same name, were planned by the Society.⁵⁰

Within the concession agreements through which land was distributed by the Jesuits to the *habitants*, the Society attempted to promote stability and order. While some of these conditions were not unique to Jesuit landholdings, they had a similar effect when enforced. Concession agreements required that *habitants* live on the land or have someone else occupy the land, clear the land for cultivation, and work on the road. *Habitants* were also required to fence cleared land or forfeit any claim to damages committed by their neighbor's animals. In the case of Notre Dame des Anges, where the order was attempting to promote a tight settlement pattern, the Jesuits required, for example, that Pierre Normand live "in the lot assigned to him."⁵¹ In many instances seigneurial dues were waived for the first year to make the land more attractive and to encourage development.

In the *seigneurie* of Notre Dame des Anges, the Society established a seigneurial court which resolved conflicts and rendered decisions not only for the inhabitants of Notre Dame des Anges but also for some of the other Jesuit *seigneuries*, including Sillery, Belair and St. Gabriel. The seigneurial court at Notre Dame also heard cases for the non-Jesuit fiefs of

⁵⁰ Harris, 176

⁵¹ The French text is as follows: "dans l'emplacement qui lui assigne." Archives Nationale du Québec, Notaires des Greffes, Vachon, 22 April 1658.

Saint- Ignace, Lepinay, d'Orsainville. By the turn of the century, this court held jurisdiction over a population of some 1,011 *habitants*.⁵²

The Jesuits may have hoped that the seigneuries would be at least self-sufficient, if not profitable. The reality was that the order's seigneuries were not profitable ventures, and the Jesuits could not support their enterprises without the assistance of the French Crown. The feudal dues were not substantial; by the turn of the century, the Jesuits were collecting only 2,430 livres⁵³ in feudal dues, while having invested some 150,000 livres⁵⁴ in their seigneuries.

In fact, by the turn of the century, of the 13,145 livres the Jesuits declared as income, 7,715 livres was in the form of support from the colonial government or directly from the French Crown.⁵⁵ The order's rather large investment reflects the resources available to the Jesuits to assure their continuance in the colony and their long term commitment to the region. The Jesuits' activities in the primitive St. Lawrence region, however, appear to have been a financial burden requiring them to rely not only on their own resources but on those of the French Crown as well.

Yet how does one measure success? If the Jesuit seigneuries were not profitable, they were successful as communities in the seventeenth century. If profit had been their sole objective in developing seigneuries and lands, the Jesuits could have returned them to the Crown. But they did not willingly do so. In the Census of 1681, the Society is shown to have approximately 1,301⁵⁶ *habitants* living on its lands, or 13% of the total population of New France (9,677).⁵⁷ In summary, the Society of

⁵² Recensement of 1706 Canada, *Rec. du Canada 1871*, IV:48.

⁵³ Kenton, 315.

⁵⁴ Québec, "Lettre de Raudot a Pontchartrain, 30 aout 1706, Archives Nationale de France, fonds des colonies, sous-serie C11A, vol. 24.

⁵⁵ Kenton, 315.

⁵⁶ Archives Nationales du Québec. Recensement (Census), 1681.

⁵⁷ Ibid. This figure is based on the total population in the colonies in 1706 of approximately 16,417. Deny Delage, "Canada and New York 1608-1750," M.A. thesis, (University of Montreal, 1970), 48. There were an estimated total of 1,813 individuals living in the Jesuit seigneuries.

Jesus in the seventeenth century enjoyed relative success in populating its seigneuries in the St. Lawrence region. In 1663, New France became a royal colony,⁵⁸ and the Crown attempted to re-assert control of the St. Lawrence after years of neglect. This led to conflict between the Crown and the Society over Indian policy⁵⁹ and to royal efforts to limit the power and expansion of the Jesuits by government supervision.⁶⁰ The Crown recognized the contribution of the Jesuits's work with the Indians as crucial to the security of the colony; it also recognized that the order had accumulated power and material wealth in the form of colonial land. The Crown walked a delicate balance between a desire to support the Jesuits in their conversion activities while limiting their access to power.

This balance perhaps is made clear when Louis XIV instructed Governor Frontenac in a 1672 correspondence:

to treat the Jesuits, who deserve it for their zeal, with a great deal of consideration; but if they should attempt to carry eccle-

⁵⁸ The colony had reverted to French control because of the financial failure of the Company of One Hundred Associates and its inability to populate the colony, thereby making the St. Lawrence region vulnerable to the Iroquois and the English colonies to the south. As a royal colony, New France fell under the direct control of King Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert. The colony was evaluated and reorganized in an attempt to integrate the colony into the French State. Under the new administration of the first Intendant Jean Talon (1665-1668, 1669-1675) and Governor Frontenac (1672-1682, 1689-1698), the policy of the French Crown was to limit the influence of the Society.

⁵⁹ W. J. Eccles, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1959), 54-65; Axtell, 69. Specifically, the Society had abandoned the Frenchifying policy of the early years because it was unsuccessful and had worked to curtail the use of alcohol in trading with the Indians. The new government supported both policies, and the Jesuits would not capitulate.

⁶⁰ *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (Quebec: L-Amable Proulx, 1927), 3-6; Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1943), 154. See also in *JR* information on the relationship between the Jesuits and Talon 49:173, 53:303; Frontenac I:41; 55:315, 322; 62:155, 273. See also Trigger, V. II, 468-470.

siastical authority too far, he must reprehend them with gentleness.⁶¹

In an attempt to check the power of the Jesuits, the Crown slowed and then virtually ceased the granting of land to the order by the end of the seventeenth century and confiscated the eastern section of their most successful and financially viable seigneurie, Notre Dame des Anges. Prior to New France becoming a royal colony in 1663, the Society of Jesus had received approximately 66% of the total number of arpents (984,708) that fell into their possession in the seventeenth century. By the end of the seventeenth century, the French Crown had ceased land grants to the order, in part, because most of the land on the St. Lawrence already had been distributed.⁶²

In 1667, under the direction of Intendant Jean Talon, the Crown confiscated Notre Dame des Anges.⁶³ Talon commented that he was well aware that he had “destroyed the [Jesuits’] hope... [of making a] profit...”⁶⁴ from this, their most financially viable holding. The Jesuits did nothing, even though they were, in Talon word’s, “heart sick”⁶⁵ over the action. In an attempt to further limit the influence of the Society, the Crown, beginning in 1673, reintroduced the Recollets and Sulpicians.⁶⁶

⁶¹ For the French original, see *Rapport de l’archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1926-1927*, 5-6.

⁶² Dalton, 76. This is based on a review of all land grants received by the Society of Jesus and their dates of acquisition. Also, see Harris, inside cover, 89-90, 92 for maps showing how lands were distributed on the St. Lawrence between 1692-1712.

⁶³ William Bennett Munro, *Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), 29-30.

⁶⁴ The text reads:

I do not know how I stand with the Jesuit Fathers since I destroyed the hope that they had that the Lordship of the lands that I used to form these villages, would profit them, but I am assured that they are heart-sick about it. However, they have the prudence not to let it show...

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ *JR*, 5:53; Kennedy, 44, 48. In addition, in 1658, François Xavier Laval had been made Bishop of New France. The Jesuits fell under his episcopal

Although attempting to limit the authority of the Jesuits in New France, the Crown continued to assist their efforts to convert the Iroquois⁶⁷ and to settle the colony. The Crown continued to support the Jesuits through financial aid and land grants in the seventeenth century because both of these endeavors were shared, compatible interests.

Royal policy, together with the continued presence of the Iroquois, the expansion of the English after 1687, and a decline in non-clerical overseas support led to a decline in the influence of the Jesuits and a consolidation of their efforts on the St. Lawrence by the end of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸

In conclusion, the Society of Jesus contributed to the colonization and settlement of the St. Lawrence in the seventeenth century, first, by their inclusion of the settlement of the St. Lawrence region as part of their missionary program. Second, the Society of Jesus actively worked to colonize and settle the St. Lawrence region with French Catholic *habitants*. The Jesuits worked to populate the colony by actively promoting settlement, clearing and distributing land, and, in the case of Notre Dame des Anges, by creating planned communities.

The Jesuits, continuing some of these same practices in the development of their other seigneuries, focused on the formation of one seigneurie at a time and on mass settlement or waves of settlement into a particular area. They contributed to the stability of the colony by establishing and maintaining civil authority through their seigneurial court at Notre Dame des Anges. While these communities were not profitable and required an extensive investment by the Jesuits and the Crown, their presence assured the implementation of a similar goal by the Crown and Society — the populating of the St. Lawrence region.

Confronted with a competing, newly-centralized French government, the influence of the Society of Jesus declined on the St. Lawrence but not before laying the foundation for per-

domain. The local Jesuit missions were made into parishes and placed under the direction of diocesan priests. Québec was made a see in 1674.

⁶⁷ Québec, *Titles and Documents*, 348-349.

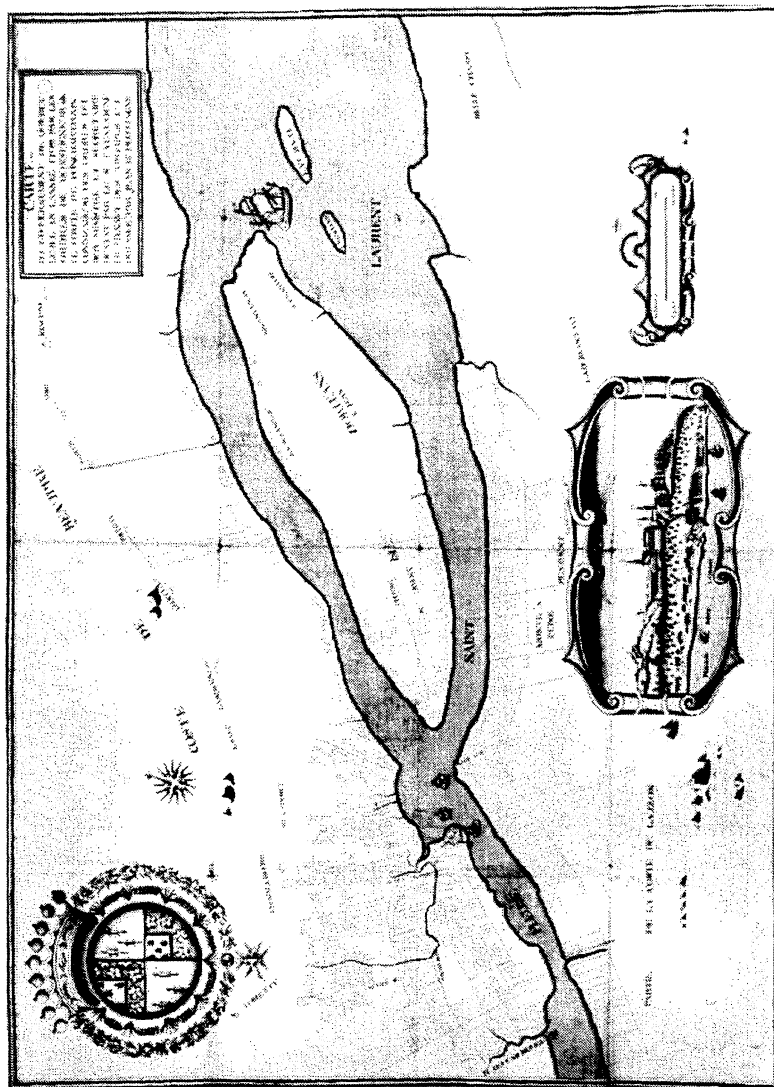
⁶⁸ Kennedy, 48-49.

⁶⁹ Delage, 48. The actual total given is 14,465. Interestingly enough, this

manent settlements. The degree of the Jesuits' success in settlement, however, was tempered by two factors: the presence of the Iroquois, and the Jesuit and Crown-supported policy limiting settlement to Roman Catholics, a policy that discouraged potential Protestant immigration. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, the population of New France was a mere 14-15,000,⁶⁹ while the more liberal immigration policies of the English created a much larger colony to the south, consisting of nearly 100,000⁷⁰ settlers. The long term effect of this policy was that France's glory in North America came to an end at the hands of the British on the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

figure was estimated to be as low as 6000. Munro, xlii.

⁷⁰ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 20.



Map 2

JESUIT EDUCATION IN COLONIAL MEXICO 1572-1767

ESTEBAN J. PALOMERA, S.J.

Education has always been an activity of utmost importance and great transcendence in human endeavor. It has occupied a preeminent and decisive part in the cultural development and progress of people. The history of education has always been linked to the history of mankind and the history of nations. Since the birth of the Mexican nation, education has played an important role in the rise of the Mexican people and in the integration of the diverse ethnic groups which constitute the Mexican nation.

The Jesuits in Mexico, 1572 — New apostolic organizations

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491-1556) and his nine companions in 1540. The first Jesuit school in North America was founded in Mexico City in 1572. The Society of Jesus arrived in Mexico in that year, some fifty years after the conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlán by Hernán Cortés (August 13, 1521). Jesuits assumed responsibility for the education of creole children and youth, assisted indigenous groups established in the principal cities, and planned the large-scale enterprise of evangelizing and civilizing the semi-barbarous natives in the north and northwest of the Mexican territory.

The gradual and progressive achievement of this educational and cultural task made possible the incorporation and integration of those far-off regions in the future Mexican nation. The educational work accomplished by the Society of Jesus in colonial Mexico from their arrival in 1572 to their expulsion in 1767 was of major proportions and enormous transcendence in Mexican culture.

The first fifteen Jesuits headed by the provincial superior, Pedro Sánchez (1526-1609), sailed from the port of San Lúcar, Spain on 15 June 1572 and arrived in Mexico on 28 September of the same year. The arrival of the Society of Jesus, as Robert

Ricard (1883-1944) affirms, signaled new routes and opened new horizons in the apostolic work of the Mexican Church. The Jesuits brought a different spirit and concerns of their own. They never laid aside their apostolic work with the Indians; however, in Mexico, the Society of Jesus was certainly going to devote itself with special conviction to the education and spiritual strengthening of the youth of creole society, which had not been adequately attended to.

The fruits of this Jesuit apostolate began to be evident in the schools founded in the main population centers of the Mexican territory.

The Jesuits start the apostolate in the schools in Mexico, 1572

When the first Jesuits arrived in Mexico in 1572, the task of evangelization of Indians in the various areas of the country was being carried out by three mendicant orders which had arrived in Mexico before the Society of Jesus: Franciscans (1523-1524), Dominicans (1526) and Augustinians (1533). All of them established churches and missions in the territories assigned to them, the regions where conquest and colonization had been consolidated.

It is necessary to underline that colonial Mexico was known officially by the Spanish authorities as New Spain. The function of governing was exercised by a viceroy named by the king of Spain. The viceroy governed the viceroyalty of New Spain in the king's name until 1821.

Fray Pedro de Gante (c. 1480-1572) and his fellow Franciscans had erected art and trade schools for Indians in Mexico City. The Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco had emerged as a center of higher humanistic, philosophic and theological studies for young Indians, but it did not survive. The Colegio was founded on 6 January 1536 but by 1576 was regrettably in complete decay. The Real y Pontificia Universidad de México had been established by royal decree on 21 September 1551 and started to offer degree programs in 1556.

The Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, which the Jesuits opened in Mexico in 1573, became a means of facing the deficiencies observed in the preparation of young students who intended to enter the University. Before the arrival of the

Jesuits, there was only one grammar class in Mexico which trained students for admission to the University, and there were still only a few elementary schools. Thus, Mexican youth, in spite of good intentions, grew without educational training and suffered grave harm in their moral and religious education. The Jesuits filled this gap so well and so fully that, it can be said, during the period of the viceroyalty, they met their commitment to public education graciously and almost without competitors.

Borgia's orientations to the Jesuit apostolate in Mexico

Since their arrival in Mexico, the Jesuits had clearly defined objectives for their apostolate in the new lands, as well as norms to which they were to conform in the performance of their tasks. For this purpose, (St.) Francis Borgia (Francisco Borja), the General of the Society of Jesus (1565-1572), had drafted some valuable and transcendental instructions on 20 October 1571 under the title "Recuerdos para el Padre D. Pedro Sánchez y los que con él van a la Nueva España." Sánchez was the superior of the first expedition of Jesuits and first provincial of Mexico (1571-1580). These norms and criteria were designed to guide the Jesuits in their first attempts and apostolic activities. A year had not yet passed since coming to Mexico when the Jesuits began to receive requests from various cities in the country: Pátzcuaro, Valladolid (Morelia), Oaxaca, Veracruz, Puebla, Zacatecas and Guadalajara. However, from the beginning the Jesuits made efforts to comply with the orientation and norms received from Borgia, according to which they ought to devote themselves to the schools for creoles and to missionary work with Indians; secondly, they were to perform their ministerial duties of preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching Christian Doctrine. These apostolic tasks were sometimes performed as a complement to their educational work and as a means of becoming familiar with the environment and the spiritual needs of the population of New Spain. This experience would train them to accomplish educational tasks in their schools with greater efficiency and realism.

The foundations in Mexico City are consolidated — New schools are opened — The Ratio Studiorum of the Jesuits and the organization of their schools

The Provincial Pedro Sánchez considered it of prime importance not to scatter the forces and activities of the members of the growing Mexican province, as the missionary and apostolic opportunities were immense. The extensive territory which then comprised the Mexican Province of the Society of Jesus included Central America and Cuba as well.

Sánchez judged it necessary to concentrate firstly on the foundation and organization of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo and its schools and subsidiary residences in the capital of New Spain: those of San Pedro y San Pablo, of San Gregorio, of San Bernardo, of San Miguel, and of San Lucas. The systems and methods set up in Mexico City would serve as a model and guide for the educational centers that would be gradually opening in other cities of New Spain. Outside the capital of the viceroyalty, other schools began: Pátzcuaro (1574), Tepotzotlán (1574), Oaxaca (1574), Valladolid (Morelia, 1578), Puebla (1578), Guadalajara (1586), Zacatecas (1590), Durango (1593), Guatemala (Central America, 1606), Mérida (Yucatán, 1618), San Luis Potosí (1623), Querétaro (1625), Veracruz (1639), Parral (1651), Chiapas (1651), Monterrey (1714), Celaya (1720), Havana (Cuba, 1722), León (1731), Guanajuato (1732), Camagüey (Cuba, 1744), Colegio de San Javier for Indians (Puebla, 1751).

The literary and pedagogical culture brought by the Jesuits to Mexico was that of the Renaissance and followed sophisticated plans of study, existing during the end of the 16th century at the Universities of Paris, Salamanca, and Alcalá. In conformity with these plans, the humanities were to be the basis of the academic formation that would afterwards be completed with philosophy and theology. Latin and Greek, no less, were the foundations of teaching.

As a consequence of the general trend of the Renaissance, the Parisian system, as well as the *Ratio Studiorum* (Systematization of Studies) of the Society of Jesus itself, served to forge the plans of study that ruled in the Jesuit schools worldwide. Thus, a humanistic formation served as the base for the education of Mexican youth of the time; through their stud-

ies they drank from the great fountains of ancient cultures: the Greek and the Roman.

The didactic methods used by the Jesuits in their classrooms were active methods that tended to exercise the diverse cognitive and creative skills of students. These methods trained students in the art of drafting and writing. In their advanced studies of philosophy and theology, students were taught, in addition to the content of the summaries, how to analyze and synthesize philosophical and theological texts.

Modernization of teaching in the Jesuit schools of Mexico in the XVIII century

The teaching of philosophy in the Jesuit schools of New Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries was relatively calm. The school programs and the general tendency were strictly guided by the scholastic system. But towards the middle of the 18th century new concerns and new ideas changed the direction of these studies. This new mentality was markedly influenced by other streams originating in Europe. The universities there had begun experiencing the renovating drive of philosophers, such as Descartes, Leibnitz, Malebranche, Gassendi, Locke, Condillac, and others.

On the other hand, the study of experimental sciences, the development that they had had, and their necessary links at many points with philosophy began to concern significantly not only Europe but also the schools and universities of Spanish America.

The effects of these new philosophical and scientific currents were experienced in Mexico. Thus, concerning some cosmological and philosophical questions, many traditional propositions were corrected due to scientific advances. Further, the strictly scientific-empirical and experimental method was adopted, and many of the opinions of the ancient naturalist philosophers were discarded.

In the University of Mexico itself, philosophical studies underwent a transformation as of the middle of the 18th century. However, this transformation had already begun sometime before in the schools of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, start-

ing with those in Mexico City and followed by those in other cities.

The very breadth of the criterion used by the Society of Jesus stimulated all types of knowledge which were indispensable in carrying on its educational labors and demanded that its teachers take into account European scientific progress. In this manner, they were in touch with the indispensable elements for such a necessary reform.

A select group of young Mexican Jesuits was convinced that renovation and modernization of the system had to be carried out. In the face of new philosophical currents, the educational system had of necessity to be changed, since for diverse reasons, it had not provided the teaching of sciences the place and the method that it required.

The modernization movement within the Mexican province of the Society of Jesus had as standard bearers such Jesuits as José Campoy (1723-1777), Francisco Javier Clavigero (1731-1787), Francisco de Ceballos (1704-1770), Diego Abad (1729-1779), José Julián Parreño (1728-1785), Rafael Landívar (1731-1793), Andrés Cavo (1739-1803), Juan Luis Maneiro (1744-1802), and others.

Ample educational labors of the Jesuits in Mexico — Their numerous schools and missions in the 17th century — Disastrous effects of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767

As time passed and the number of Jesuits of the Mexican Province grew, the order extended its cultural and educational labors throughout diverse parts of New Spain, founding schools and opening missions among the unconverted Indians. Thus, by the middle of the 18th century when the Mexican Province numbered 678 members, 474 were natives of New Spain; the Jesuits had managed to establish an important and ample network of schools and missions among the indigenous populations. By then, schools were in operation in Mexico City, Campeche, Celaya, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Guatemala, León, Mérida, Oaxaca, Pátzcuaro, Puebla, Querétaro, San Cristóbal in Chiapas, San Luis Potosí, Valladolid (Morelia), Veracruz, Zacatecas, Havana (Cuba) and Camagüey (Cuba).

Missions had been established among the nomad and semi-savage Indians of the North and Northwest of New Spain, in the territories which correspond today to Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Sonora and Baja California.

With great and generous devotion, the Jesuits evangelized and civilized the Indians of those remote regions. They taught them to live peacefully in villages and urban centers. They provided them with an advantageous and valuable education in animal husbandry and farming. Indeed, the Jesuits through their civilizing work contributed significantly to the incorporation and the integration of those regions into the future Mexican nation. Let us remember the relevance of such Jesuits as Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645-1711), Juan María Salvatierra (Giammaria Salvaterra, 1648-1717), Juan de Ugarte (1663-1720), and many others who emulated their feats. All that flourishing cultural and educational labor of almost two centuries (1572-1767) was abruptly truncated on 25 June 1767 through the enforcement of the royal order of the Spanish monarch, Charles III (1716-1788; king, 1759), who had decreed the expulsion of all Jesuits from Spain and its dominions in America.

The eminent writer Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo terms that arbitrary order issued by Charles III as a "vandalic decree," and its effects were truly disastrous for Spain and its colonies in their cultural and religious aspects. Mexico suffered greatly as a consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits who had developed deep roots in the life and history of Mexico. Most of the Jesuits who worked in Mexico had been born in the country.

The expulsion of the Jesuits by Charles III was part of a plan of the Bourbon Courts which governed in France and Spain. These same courts had been insistently pressuring the Sovereign Pontiff into suppressing the Society of Jesus. Finally, on 21 July 1773, Pope Clement XIV (1705-1774; pope, 1769) signed the Decree of General Extinction of the Society of Jesus which became effective in Rome and Italy on August 17th.

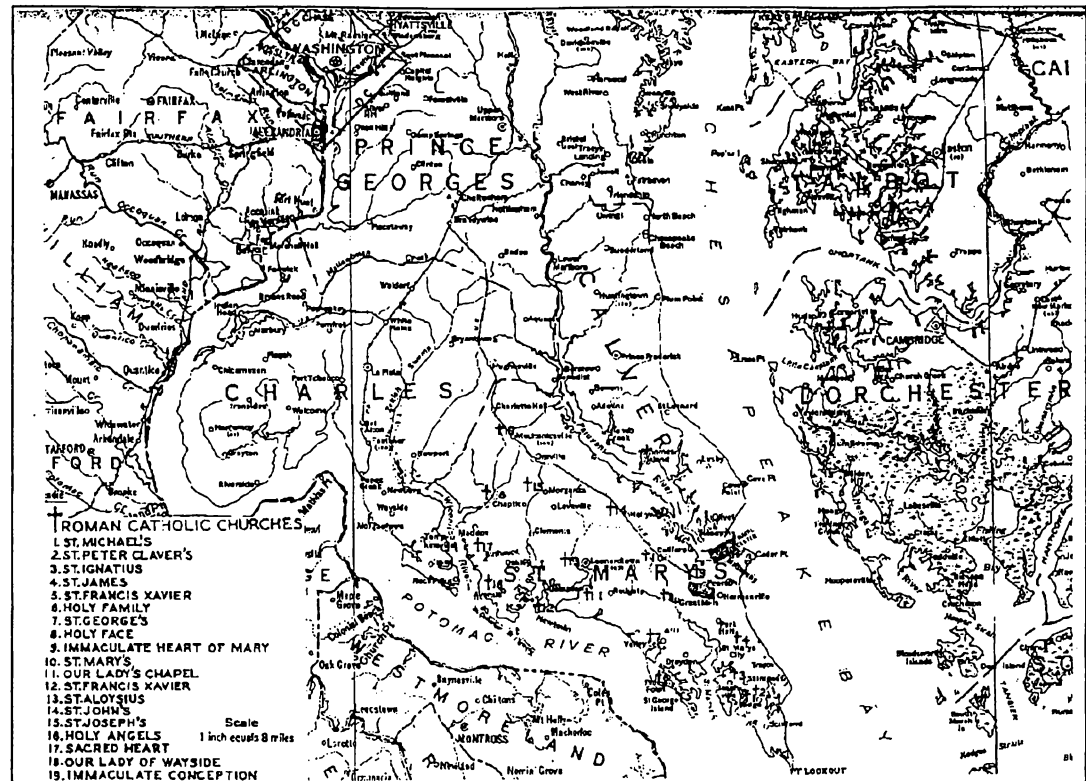
The suppression of the Society of Jesus was a painful blow which caused grave harm to the universal Church. The order was not in decay, but rather full of vitality and thrust. It was like a ageless tree, still strong and luxuriant, which was cut down unexpectedly by the lumberman's ax.

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Map 3



Father John De Brebeuf, S.J.
Founder of the Huron Mission
Killed March 16, 1649
From Silver bust at Quebec



El Padre Kino
Misionero y Gobernante

THE JESUITS AS EDUCATORS IN ANGLO-AMERICA

R.E., CURRAN, S.J.

A Seventeenth-Century Georgetown?

At the annual commencement of Georgetown University in 1934, President W. Coleman Nevils, S.J.¹ announced that the commencement possessed special significance since it marked the “tercentennial year commemorating the first founders of Georgetown” who in the persons of Andrew White², John Altham³, and Thomas Gervase⁴, a lay brother, had begun “at St. Mary’s City, Maryland...a school which is justly regarded as the progenitor of Georgetown.”⁵

By a special providence [Nevils noted] they ascended the Potomac River, ...and on its shores they at once projected a seat of learning, to the establishment of which they had in a document dated from Rome, September the fifteenth, Sixteen Hundred and forty the heartfelt encouragement and formal approbation of Muttius Vitelleschi, the then General of the Order. After a sesquicentenary of persecution, poverty, and worst of all, ingratitude, John Carroll, priest, prelate, patriot...inspired with the same ideals of education, true to the same Ignatian standards, in the year of our Lord Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-nine executed what his Jesuit forebears White and Copley had planned, founding and establishing Georgetown College on the banks of the Potomac.⁶

¹W. Coleman Nevils. B. 27 May 1878, Philadelphia; e. 14 August 1896; d. 12 October 1955, New York; province of Maryland.

²Andrew White. B. 1579, London; e. 1 February 1607, Louvain; d. December 1656 (6 January 1656).

³John Altham. B. 1589, Warwickshire; e. 1623; d. 5 November 1640, (1641) St. Mary’s Town.

⁴Thomas Gervase. B. 1590; e. 1624; d. August 1637 or 1641.

⁵*Georgetown College Journal* 63 (1 October 1934), 43-45.

⁶G CJ 61 (7 May 1933), 536.

This, of course, conveniently made Georgetown not only the oldest Catholic institution of higher learning in the country, but, at least *in voto*, two years older than Harvard. The college journal was even bolder:

In 1634 the Jesuits began their school at St. Mary's. From there the school passed to Calverton Manor in 1640, to Newtown Manor in 1677, to Bohemia Manor in 1745, and finally to Georgetown Heights in 1789.⁷

Here the authors envisioned a Jesuit educational archetype that was successively incarnated in several places but remained the same institution that finally became Georgetown at the end of the colonial period.

When one examines the actual history of Jesuit education in British America, the claims of the promoters of such an ancient and continuous institutional presence seem fanciful, to say the least. The available record shows that the Society established no more than three short-lived schools in the colony of Maryland and one in New York. For most of the colonial period, there were indeed no Jesuit schools.

A Jesuit "College" for British America

Becoming involved in education or establishing schools, even if the means or men had been readily available, which they were not, does not seem to have been a priority with the Jesuits in Maryland during the first generation of settlement. It is true that as early as 1640 the Jesuits in Maryland indicated to their superiors in Rome their aspirations about forming a "college." The superior-general of the Society of Jesus wrote to the mission superior that "the hope held out of a college I am happy to entertain, and when it shall have matured, I will not be backward in extending my approval." But what was their meaning of "college"? Did they mean a school or a collection of Jesuit houses or missions? The evidence appears to support the

⁷G CJ 61 (7 May 1933), 533.

latter interpretation. The fact is that no Jesuit mission in the seventeenth century could possess revenue or real property unless it was incorporated into some college (which by Jesuit law could alone be endowed). Where no colleges existed, as in England, a fictive one was created to which houses and missions were attached. In Maryland where the Jesuits by 1640 had a very substantial revenue-producing plantation, forming that kind of "college" was very pertinent.⁸ In fact, Father General Francesco Piccolomini (1582-1651, general, 1649-1651) pointed this out to the English Provincial, Francis Forster (b. 1602, d. 1658) a decade later (1650) when the Maryland Jesuits had presumably formed neither a school nor a technical "college" and suggested that the Maryland mission be joined to some existing English College, or collection of houses, such as the one at London.⁹ Nearly a half century later, when the Jesuits were preparing to open a mission in New York, the English provincial superior found that an auspicious expansion of their activity in America since, as he noted,

in that Colony...is a respectable city, fit for the foundation of a college...to which College those who are now scattered throughout Maryland may betake themselves, and make excursions from thence into Maryland.¹⁰

Despite the superior's limited knowledge of the geographic realities of America, the point was that Maryland in the 1680s still had no cities. New York was much closer than London. The reference to a college here would again seem to be a headquarters to which outlying mission stations could be attached, not an educational institution.

⁸ William C. Rapetti, "Catholic Schools in Colonial Maryland," *Woodstock Letters* 81 (1952), 125-26.

⁹ Francesco Piccolomini to Forster, 20 August 1650, in Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908-1910). Text, 2:27.

¹⁰ Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1878), 8:343, cited in John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1965), 364-65.

Factors Opposing Education in America

Several factors precluded or retarded the establishment of schools by the Jesuits in British America: the lack of urban centers, disease, the lack of patrons, the lack of teachers, and the penal laws. St. Mary's City was the one "urban" center that Jesuits worked in in Maryland for much of the colonial period. And St. Mary's was more village than town with but a few score houses. Not until the 1670s when the fifth Lord Baltimore was planning to convert the raw village into a baroque city, with state-house and church forming the two anchors of a triangular plan did the Jesuits apparently begin a school in St. Mary's.

Disease was another factor that retarded any educational development among Jesuits. Small pox, malaria, ague, yellow fever were but the major diseases that made for short lives and a social instability that was highly unfavorable to the creation of any institutional education. Jesuits themselves were not immune from this wasting demographic pattern. The average Jesuit in Maryland in the seventeenth century lived less than ten years from the time of his arrival in the colony. And most of them, unlike Andrew White, were young men — in their thirties. So fearsome was this "seasoning" that by the late seventeenth century superiors in Europe were accelerating the training of native American Jesuits in order to fill the manpower needs in Maryland. By century's turn, the demographic pattern was brightening as mortality rates declined sharply. The first "public" school in Maryland was begun in Annapolis only in the first decade of the eighteenth century. By that time, however, political deterrents had replaced climatic ones in the Jesuits' development of schools.

There was also a sheer lack of Jesuits to staff any schools. At no time in the seventeenth century were there more than five priests in the colony. By 1772 there were twenty-three, but most of them were hard-pressed to run their plantations and ride the circuit to their scattered congregations throughout the colony. Then, too, those prone to be educators tended not to be sent to Maryland. Christopher Morris¹¹, one of the early applicants for

¹¹ Christopher Morris. B. 10 May 1729, Yorkshire; e. 7 September 1746; d. 27 November 1781, Bath.

the Maryland mission in the 1640s, counted his linguistic and musical skills particular assets for a mission trying to bridge cultures. Morris, however, with his wide-ranging talents, including a command of both theology and philosophy, could not be spared for Maryland. As one superior remarked of him: "We have few missionaries in our Province like him, ready for everything." Indeed throughout the colonial period those distinguished for academic or intellectual attainments tended to be kept in the seminaries and colleges on the continent. In that regard, John Carroll¹² was but the last of a long line.

The Jesuits themselves came to Maryland not to minister to the settlers through the educational or pastoral apostolates but to convert the Indians. The inauguration of the mission to Maryland produced among English Jesuits an irrepressible urge to bring Christianity to the natives. During the first decade of the colony, the focus of Jesuit ministry was on the Amerindians. They achieved dramatic results with some key conversions of Indian chieftains among the Picataway and Patuxent. Then, in 1645, the overthrow of the Calverts drove the Jesuits from the colony itself. When they returned three years later, the Indians were already being driven from the area through the combined pressures of the English and the Susquehanna. By 1650, the Jesuit mission in Maryland was limited to the Catholic minority of the English population. Yet still the Jesuits were slow to turn to education. Significantly the first educator of Catholics in Maryland was not a Jesuit but a former Jesuit novice from England, Ralph Crouch¹³, who began teaching Catholic youth in Maryland sometime after his arrival in 1640. In 1653, Crouch moved his school to Newtown in accordance with the will of a Catholic planter who gave an endowment for a school, provided that it be placed in that settlement. Crouch maintained a school there until 1659 when he returned to Europe to reenter the Jesuits as a coadjutor brother.

¹² John Carroll. B. 8 January 1738, Upper Marlborough, Maryland; e. 1753, Wetten, Flanders; d. 3 December 1815, Baltimore, Maryland; ep. con. 15 August 1790, Dorset, England.

¹³ Brother Ralph Crouch. B. 1620, Oxfordshire; e. 18 April 1658/59, Lancashire; d. 18 November 1679, Liege.

Nearly two decades later, in 1677, two Jesuits finally began a school on the same site at Newtown. It was a preparatory school of the humanities. At least two of its students went on to St. Omers, the Jesuit college in Flanders.

Although Maryland had been founded by a Catholic nobleman, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore (1578-1632), Catholics from the beginning had been a very small minority there, usually numbering less than a twelfth of the population. In the first fifty years of the colony's existence, freedom of religion more or less prevailed so long as the Calverts were in power. With separation of church and state as the official policy of the colony, the Jesuits who accompanied the settlers to the Chesapeake area had to resort to the same means as the gentleman planters to sustain themselves and their ministry. Through bequests, acquisition of property, and grants of land from the Lord Proprietor under the headright system, the Society of Jesus came to be a major landowner in Maryland by the eighteenth century, possessing seven estates, several of which were more than two thousand acres in size. But these estates proved to be poor providers of the means to support ministries, including education. Indeed the Society in England continually was forced to make up the difference in the shortfall of revenue from the plantations so that the Maryland mission could survive. The estates, in brief, were no endowment for any educational foundations (although as late as 1786, Georgetown College was established on the false hope that these plantations would provide the basic means of support for the institution they were planning).

Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Schools in America

On one of these estates at Newtown in St. Mary's County, the Jesuits established a grammar school in 1677. And there apparently was a contemporary, possibly even older one run by the Society in St. Mary's City, then the capital of the colony. This may be the school referred to by the superior general in 1650 when he encouraged the local superior, Thomas Copley¹⁴,

¹⁴Thomas Copley. B. c. 1591; d. 14 July 1652.

that "the school opened by the Father, your companion, will be worth the pains."¹⁵ Copley's companion was Lawrence Starkey,¹⁶ who had been in the Mission for two years. It may well be that Ralph Crouch was in fact the master of this school in St. Mary's City. And it is uncertain how permanent this school was. In the 1690s, a Maryland governor referred to the papist school long established at St. Mary's City. Recent archeological digs have uncovered a substantial brick building from the 1660s that may well have functioned as a schoolhouse as well as mission center.¹⁷ Our knowledge of the school at Newtown is somewhat fuller but still very thin. In the Annual Letter of 1681 the English superior John Warner¹⁸ wrote to Charles de Noyelle (1615-1686; general, 1681-1686), the superior general in Rome on 26 February 1683:

The Maryland Mission is flourishing: what our Fathers have sown there, has grown into an abundant field of harvest and promises for a long time to be such. Four years ago a school of humane letters was opened there by ours, in a barbaric environment, which two of ours run, and the youth trained there and exposed to literature above the norm, advance. That mission has recently sent two youths from that school to (Europe) who yield in talent to few Europeans. So we gather not only gold and silver or other fruits of the earth but also men for virtue and the higher disciplines in those regions which are unjustly called barbaric...¹⁹

The Jesuit school at Newtown, although open to Protestant as well as Catholic, was apparently intended to serve as a preparatory school for St. Omers and was very likely the

¹⁵ Hughes, *History*: Text, 2:46.

¹⁶ Laurence Sankey (Lawrence Starkey). B. 1606, Lancashire; e. 1636, Watten; d. 13 February 1657.

¹⁷ Henry M. Miller, "Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake," *Historical Archeology* 22 (1988):64-65.

¹⁸ John Warner. B. 1628, Warwickshire; e. 31 December 1662; d. 2 November 1692, St. Germain's.

¹⁹ Hughes, *Documents* 1:136-37.

result of provincial planning in England. The two priests connected with the school, Thomas Gavan²⁰ and Francis Pennington²¹, were both well trained in the higher sciences and gifted teachers. Gavan was sent to America in 1677, the very year in which the school was started. Significantly, he was withdrawn eight years later to be a kind of resident theologian for the Jesuit missionaries in England.²² Pennington, who had taught at St. Omers, was missioned to Maryland in 1675 but died the same year that Gavan was brought back to England. Nonetheless, the school may well have survived the pair's loss. The 1696 report on the English Province stated that:

We now number in Maryland 4 priests, one teacher, who is in charge of the education of youths, not advanced to the priesthood because of a weakness of the head, and four temporal coadjutors who have charge of the farms and our temporal concerns, while the priests devote themselves to the religious tasks of converting souls.²³

That teacher was Thomas Hothersall²⁴ who had been assigned to the school at Newtown since his arrival in 1681. With his death in 1698 the school likely ceased functioning.

In the late seventeenth century, New York briefly provided another opportunity for a Jesuit school. When the Duke of York appointed a Catholic, Thomas Dongan,²⁵ as governor of the colony in 1682, Dongan brought with him an English Jesuit, Thomas Harvey²⁶. Eventually four other Jesuits joined him in the next three years. In accordance with Dongan's plan, the Jesuits, like their counterparts of an earlier generation in Maryland, came to work with the Indians; in this particular case to offset the influence of the French Jesuits among the

²⁰ Thomas Gavan. B. 1646, London; e. 7 November 1668; d. 4 June 1712, Lincolnshire.

²¹ Francis Pennington. B. 1644, Worcestershire; e. 1664.

²² Hughes, *History*: Text, 2:135.

²³ Hughes, *Documents* 1:139-41.

²⁴ Thomas Hothersall. E. 20 June 1668; d. 1698.

²⁵ Thomas Dongan. 1634-1715; governor of New York, 1682-1688.

²⁶ Thomas Harvey. B. 1633 or 1635; e. 7 September 1653; d. 1696.

Iroquois and others. As it turned out, Dongan worked out a peace accord with the Indians without the Jesuits. The latter were able to concentrate their efforts in New York City, where, among other things, they began an elementary school that attracted not only the sons of the few Catholics in the area but those of non-Catholics as well, including the leading citizens of the colony, much to the dismay of certain dissidents in the colony, including Jacob Leisler (1640-1691). As an endowment, the governor granted them the revenue from the King's Farm.²⁷ The school, however, lasted less than five years. Leisler led the local variant of the Glorious Revolution in New York in 1689 which overturned the government of Dongan's successor, drove out the Jesuits, and closed the school.²⁸

Jesuit Education in the Penal Age

After the Glorious Revolution reached Maryland in 1689, Catholics found themselves, at least theoretically, subject to the same discrimination they had fled England to avoid. The Anglican Church became established by law. Catholics could not vote, practice certain professions, bear arms, or worship publicly. They were sometimes doubly taxed. To educate their children in a Catholic school or to provide a Catholic tutor was to incur a fine of forty shillings per day; to send them abroad for a Catholic education was to be liable to a fine of £100 and to risk disqualifying a child from any inheritance. In 1704, for instance, the Maryland assembly passed an act providing that:

if any Papist or Person making profession of the Popish Religion shall keep school or take upon themselves the Education, Government or Boarding of youth in any place within this Province such person or persons being thereof lawfully convicted...[must] be transported out of this Province.²⁹

²⁷ Hughes, *History*: Text, 2:147.

²⁸ John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America*, 363-68.

²⁹ William H. Browne (ed.), *The Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-1956), 26:340-41, cited in Harold A. Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit: The Story of Catholic Education in the United States* (London, 1970), 24.

Priests were subject to life imprisonment for being in the colony. Although Maryland Catholics rarely if ever felt the full material impact of the legislation, there was still the perpetual threat of its being invoked. In fact, no Jesuit school was established in Maryland for a half century after the fall of the Calverts.

The imposition of political penalties for nearly eighty years apparently motivated relatively few, at least among the gentry, to abandon their faith. In the same period there was a sharp increase in the number of children whom the Catholic gentry were sending abroad for their education in the recusant schools at St. Omer and Bruges (Brugge) in Flanders. Indeed more Americans went to St. Omers in the eighteenth century than to Oxford and Cambridge combined. The Boones (6), Boarmans (7), Brookes (13), Carrolls (7), Coles (4), Diggeses (12), Neales (11), Piles (3), Roziers (4), Semmeses (4), and Sewalls (5), among others, all sent several boys to St. Omers or Bruges in the Spanish Lowlands. In all, at least 117 Marylanders went to the Jesuit recusant schools between the 1680s and the 1770s. Girls went to convent schools in the Low Country. One result was a harvest of vocations — thirty-six Jesuit novices in the period from 1724 to 1773 alone. The Carmelites, the Poor Clares, and the Benedictines had similar increases from the daughters of the same Maryland families.

At the beginning of this penal age, the Jesuit schools in Newtown and St. Mary's City had closed. Not until the middle of the 1740s did another one open, and that for a very brief period. At the Jesuit plantation of Bohemia on the upper Eastern Shore of Maryland, Thomas Poulton³⁰ started a school which lasted for approximately four years. Bohemia was a good site for a Catholic academy in a colony that outlawed such enterprises, since it was located in an area disputed by Maryland and Delaware, a dispute not settled until Mason and Dixon plotted the true line of demarcation between the two colonies and Pennsylvania twenty years later. Bohemia began, like Newtown, as a preparatory school for St. Omers and was a distinct success until the death of Poulton in 1749. It had a two-

³⁰ Thomas Poulton. B. 16 May 1697, Northamptonshire; e. December 1716; d. 13 or 23 January 1749.

track curriculum, classical and commercial. The schoolmaster was a layman, who received 40 shillings per year for each student who took the Latin course, 30 for those who did not.³¹ Unlike the other earlier Jesuit schools in America but like St. Omers and Bruges, it was a boarding school. And, unlike the earlier Jesuit schools, it was for Catholics only, one consequence of the Penal Age. Charles Carroll and John Carroll studied there before continuing across the waters to St. Omers. Brents and Neales and the sons of other leading Catholic families patronized the school as well. A neighboring Protestant minister remembered it as "a very considerable Popish seminary..."³² How long the school survived after Poulton's death is uncertain. By 1751 pressures for enforcing the penal laws were building again in Maryland, even in remote Cecil County, in which Bohemia was located. Legislation was introduced to seize the Jesuit lands, including Bohemia. Conducting a school was a red flag in the face of the anti-papists in the colony. The school quietly died.³³

The only other schools kept by Jesuits during the eighteenth century in British America were those begun by German Jesuits in Pennsylvania in the 1740s as well. William Wappeler³⁴, sometime in the mid-1740s, started a school near the Jesuit farm at Conewago in southeastern Pennsylvania. Theodore Schneider³⁵ started an elementary school at Goshenhoppen for the children of the area, both Catholics and Protestants. Schneider in fact became something of an itinerant schoolmaster opening several schools in the region.

Not until the waning days of the American Revolution did the British Jesuits begin an urban school. In Philadelphia in 1782, Robert Molyneux³⁶, in a former Quaker school building,

³¹ Hughes, *History*: Text, 2:520.

³² Hughes, *History*: Text, 2:520.

³³ Edward I. Devitt, S.J., "Bohemia," *Woodstock Letters* 63 (October 1934), 12-16.

³⁴ Wilhelm (William) Wappeler. B. 22 January 1711, Westphalia; e. 18 October 1728; d. September 1781, Bruges.

³⁵ Theodore Schneider. B. 7 April 1703, Heidelberg; e. 29 September 1721, Watten; d. 10 July 1764, Pennsylvania.

³⁶ Robert Molyneux. B. 24 July 1738, Lancastershire; e. 7 September 1757; d. 9 December 1808, Washington.

started a grammar and elementary school “where the young might be instructed in their religion and receive a secular education as well.”³⁷ A formal administration, including a president, vice president, and board of managers was set up, school-masters hired, and scholarships given. Molyneux, the descendant of a distinguished Lancaster family, had been educated in the recusant schools of St. Omers, Liège, and Bruges. The two Carrolls, Charles and John, had been classmates. Molyneux was deeply concerned about the education of American youth as well as their parents. Significantly, he was also the first publisher of Catholic books in the United States.

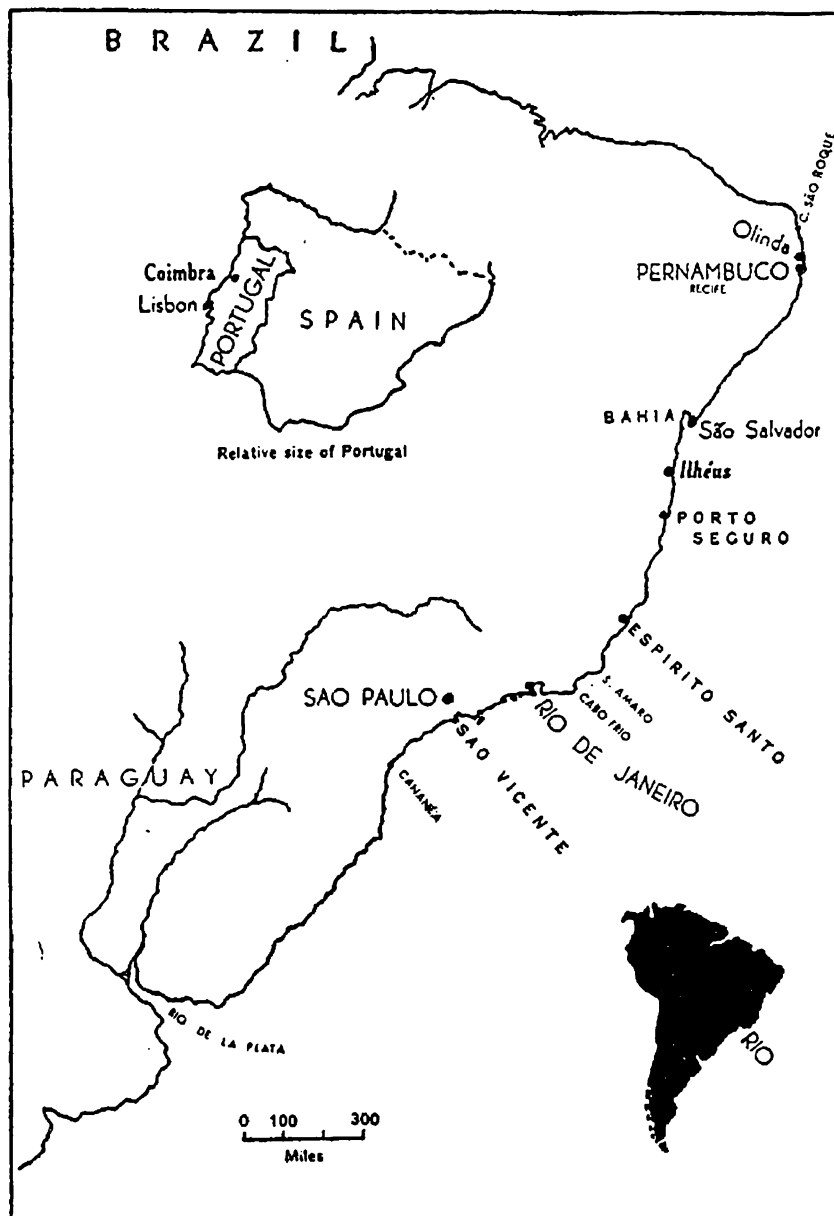
Suppression, Revolution, and Georgetown

By the time Molyneux was establishing his school at St. Mary's in Philadelphia, the Society of Jesus had been suppressed as an order for nearly a decade. The suppression of the Society of Jesus and the American Revolution were providing the circumstances under which American Catholics would finally establish an institution of higher education. The suppression meant that the normal source of priests and religious — the Society of Jesus — was suddenly cut off to the American Catholic community. The American Revolution brought in its wake civic and religious liberties that Catholics participated in, at least substantially. Catholics were now free, not only in Maryland but in the other colonies as well, to found a college. A year after Molyneux opened his school, John Carroll, who as an intellectual undoubtedly would have remained in Europe had not the suppression occurred but had returned to America on the eve of the Revolution as an unattached priest, was writing to an ex-Jesuit in England: “The object nearest my heart is to establish a college on this continent for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a Seminary for future Clergymen.”³⁸ When Carroll subsequently opened Georgetown

³⁷ Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 35.

³⁸ John Carroll to Charles Plowden, 26 September 1783, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *The John Carroll Papers* (Notre Dame, 1976), 1:78.

Collège in 1791, the first real president of the school was Robert Molyneux. In keeping with the Maryland tradition, it was open to those of every religious profession. Like St. Omers and Bohemia, it was a boarding school. Like them, it was intended to be a nursery for vocations, "the main sheet anchor of religion," as Carroll once put it. Unsurprisingly, Carroll found funding and staffing his school two formidable difficulties. The American Catholic community contributed virtually nothing in establishing and developing Georgetown. The ex-Jesuits provided few faculty. Most of the faculty at Georgetown during its first decade and a half came from the Sulpician community, including priests and seminarians. In 1805 the Society of Jesus was restored in this country and was given the college to operate. The chief Jesuit educators at Georgetown, however, for some time to come were foreign Jesuits. The colonial legacy was a major cause of Georgetown's precarious existence during its first generation. Carroll may have intended Georgetown to embody the Jesuit humanistic tradition in education within a republic, but Jesuit education in British America provided little with which to begin that experiment.



Map 4



Padre Manuel Da Nóbrega
Barata Feyo sculpsit

“WHO IS MY NEIGHBOR?” THE MISSIONARY IDEALS OF MANUEL DA NÓBREGA

THOMAS COHEN

When Tomé de Sousa arrived in Bahia in March 1549 to begin his service as the first governor of Brazil, he was accompanied by six Jesuits who had been charged with establishing the Society's first missions in the New World. The superior of these missionaries was Manuel da Nóbrega (1517-1570), a priest from Coimbra who would become the dominant figure in the early history of the Brazilian church. Under Nóbrega's leadership, the Jesuits established a network of missions along the length of the Brazilian coastline and developed the pastoral theory and practice that shaped the work of their successors until the Society's expulsion from Brazil. In his letters and treatises, Nóbrega produced a critical analysis of colonial society that placed increasing emphasis on the church's mission to the Indians. Nóbrega defined the debate in Lisbon and in Bahia about the nature of the Jesuit enterprise in Brazil, and the basic terms of this debate remained in place throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ Although the texts in which Nóbrega developed his ideas are dispersed and often elliptical, they are unique among Jesuit writings of the period in terms of the range of their concerns and the force of their criticism of the colonial order and of the internal workings of the Society of Jesus.

This paper analyzes two texts by Nóbrega that may be read as companion pieces: the letter to the settlers of Pernambuco (1552) and the *Diálogo Sobre a Conversão do Gentio* (1556-57). The letter was written in an effort to incorporate the settlers

¹ José de Anchieta (1534-1597) was the only Jesuit from the founding generation whose importance was comparable to that of Nóbrega. Anchieta was a gifted linguist and poet who would serve as superior in Brazil, but he lacked Nóbrega's administrative skills and was not called upon to make decisions about the fundamental questions of missionary strategy that shaped the first decade of Jesuit activity in Brazil.

into the missionary enterprise, while the *Diálogo* offered a defense of the Indians and a criticism of the Jesuits' efforts on their behalf. The two texts provide a revealing glimpse of Nóbrega's struggle during the early years of the mission to find a way of proceeding (*modo de proceder*) that would permit the Jesuits to minister to both the Indians and the Portuguese settlers in Brazil.

Nóbrega came from a family that was closely tied to John III (1521-1557), whose treasury paid for his university education.² His father, Baltasar da Nóbrega, was a judge, and he had a cousin who served as Chancellor of the Realm. After being ordained and distinguishing himself in canon law at the universities of Salamanca and Coimbra, Nóbrega was denied a position at the Santa Cruz monastery in Coimbra because of a stutter that would later present problems in his pastoral work.³ Nóbrega's first biographer claims that as a result of this experience, he resolved to leave university life:

This is the means that Divine Providence used to take him from the world and make him one of her great servants. He thought to himself that the world had dealt him a blow when he expected honors from it, and he determined to avenge himself and to scorn it, and to put it under his feet.⁴

Antonio Franco overstates the importance of Nóbrega's failure at Coimbra, but his account is invaluable because it provides the first view of the strand of anti-intellectualism that would become a central feature of Nóbrega's career. In the

²No adequate biography of Nóbrega has been written and much basic information (including his place of birth) remains unknown. The best survey is Serafim Leite, *Breve Itinerário para uma biografia do P. Manuel da Nóbrega* (Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, 1955). See also Leite, *Nóbrega e a fundação de São Paulo* (Lisbon, 1953); the discussion of Nóbrega in Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (ten vols., Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, 1938-1950), vol. 2 (hereafter HCJB); and the brief biography in Antonio Franco, *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra* (vol. I, Evora, 1719; vol. 2, Coimbra, 1719), 2.

³See Simão de Vasconcelos, *Crônica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil*, 3d ed., (Petrópolis, 1977), 174-75, 184-85.

⁴Franco, op. cit., 2:158.

history of colonial Brazil no Jesuit other than Antonio Vieira (1608-1697) matched Nóbrega in his animus against the academy. Nóbrega entered the Society as a result of his decision to leave the academy and devote himself to mission work. Beginning with his first writings as an itinerant preacher in Portugal and continuing throughout his letters and papers from Brazil, Nóbrega did little to disguise his contempt for religious who remained in universities rather than devoting themselves to the pastoral work for which he had left the world of learning.

Before his departure for Brazil, Nóbrega served the Jesuits as spiritual director and procurator for the poor at the Coimbra college and as an itinerant preacher throughout northern Portugal.⁵ It was in Coimbra that he was chosen by the Portuguese Provincial Simão Rodrigues (1510-1579) to lead the first Jesuit mission to Brazil.⁶ Nóbrega's career in Brazil consisted of two distinct ten-year periods.⁷ It was the first period (1549-1559) that established him as the key figure in the development of the missionary strategy of the Jesuits. From his base in Bahia Nóbrega created a mission system that ranged from Pernambuco to São Vicente at a time when the Portuguese province of the Society was the only one that had sent missionaries outside Europe.⁸ During the second period (1560-1570) Nóbrega was occupied primarily with administrative duties in southern Brazil, and few of his letters from these years survive.⁹

The letters and treatises from the first decade concerning

⁵ Concerning the Jesuits' early emphasis on itinerant preaching in Europe, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, 1993), 15.

⁶ Leite, *Breve Itinerário*, 44-47.

⁷ Nóbrega, Manuel da, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos*, (Coimbra, 1955), 15-27.

⁸ Portugal was the most successful of the Society's provinces during the founding decades. No other province would send missionaries overseas until three Spanish Jesuits were sent to join the expedition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Florida in 1566. One of the missionaries, Pedro Martínez, was the first Jesuit to be killed by Indians in North America. See William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1986), 93.

⁹ Serafim Leite argues that Indian conversion was "fundamental, but subordinated" to political concerns during this period. *Cartas*, Introduction, 25.

Nóbrega's own activities and those of the Jesuits under his authority constitute the single most important documentary source concerning the introduction of formal Portuguese colonization in Brazil. Despite his avowed preoccupation with the Society's mission to the Portuguese settlers, Nóbrega's efforts during this first decade were directed with few exceptions towards the conversion of the Indians. Nóbrega's mission work and writings between 1549 and 1559 suggest that he decided soon after his arrival that the Jesuits were best advised, at least in the short term, to relegate their mission to the Portuguese to a position of secondary importance. Serafim Leite and other writers gloss over the question of the objectives of Jesuit ministry during the early colonial period by assuming that the Jesuits were determined from the outset to minister primarily to the Indians. The wide acceptance of this view has helped to obscure the Jesuits' ongoing effort to define their ministries in Brazil. The conflicting impulses concerning ministry that Nóbrega expresses in his letters provide ample evidence that as the key figure in the early colonial church, Nóbrega did not come easily to his decision to de-emphasize the Jesuits' ministry to the Portuguese settlers.

The first ten years of Nóbrega's mission in Brazil constitute what may be viewed as an effort to enact the understanding of ministry that was expressed in his first surviving letter, in which he pledged himself to the love of Christ.¹⁰ For Jesuits in both Europe and the New World this meant in practical terms a dedication to the "customary ministries" (*consueta ministeria*) that were the foundation blocks of the Society. Yet, like other aspects of the Jesuit enterprise at a time when the Society's pastoral ideals were still in the process of being defined, the question of who would make up the flock was an open one. The answer to this question had more immediate and wide-ranging effects in Brazil than in Europe. In both places, the emphasis of Jesuits (particularly as stated by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580), who bore much of the responsibility for putting Ignatius's ideas

¹⁰The letter is a fragment consisting of only one line (written while he was still in Coimbra) that hinges on Nóbrega's use of the verb *querer*: "Quizera não saber o que quero, mas em todo o cazo somente querer a Jesu Crucificado." Ibid., 2.

into practice) was meant to be on people — Christian and non-Christian — who fell outside the reach of traditional ministries.¹¹ But beyond this basic signpost, individual Jesuits were left to accommodate their own goals and aptitudes to the particular conditions of the people whom they served.¹²

In Brazil the indeterminateness of the Jesuit vocation presented a complex set of questions as soon as Nóbrega arrived in the colony. If the Jesuits in Europe struggled to extend the reach of the church's traditional ministries in Europe while accepting contemporary constraints on their pastoral work, the situation in Brazil was even more difficult due to the heterogeneity of the flock and the fact that the Jesuits immediately constituted the most important group of religious in the colony. One question that quickly presented itself was that of developing a vocabulary for defining the Jesuits' ministry. In Europe, Jesuits seeking to minister to women had found it difficult to articulate the ideas that informed their pastoral practices, for, "(a)s was often the case, the vocabulary they inherited was inadequate for the reality they lived, or at least wanted to live."¹³ In Brazil, the received meanings of ideas and institutions that were central to Jesuit ministry became even more problematic. Tellingly, it was not only the Indians but also the Europeans who confounded Nóbrega's expectations. Upon arrival in Bahia, he writes, "we found some sort of church."¹⁴ Nóbrega was unable to place the skeletal institution he encountered in Bahia within a familiar ecclesiology.

The letter to the settlers of Pernambuco was written in anticipation of difficulties in a proposed mission to the Indians of that captaincy. Concerning the Portuguese in Pernambuco, Nóbrega tells Simão Rodrigues that "I only fear the bad exam-

¹¹ "(O)ne of the most striking features of the early Jesuits is the wide variety of people to whom they ministered, including many of the poor and outcast... For (Nadal), the Jesuit task par excellence was to search for the 'lost sheep' — whether pagan, Muslim, heretic, or Catholic." O'Malley, 73.

¹² The notion of the first Jesuits "taking shape for ministry" effectively conveys the nature of their task. The phrase serves as the title for O'Malley's chapter about the articulation of the *consueta ministeria*. See Ibid., 51-90.

¹³ Ibid., 75.

¹⁴ *Cartas*, 19.

ple that our Christianity gives them (the Indians), because there are men who have not confessed in seventeen years, and it seems to me that they find their happiness in having many women. I hear shameful things about the priests.”¹⁵ These reservations, however, did not prevent Nóbrega from seeking to minister to the settlers upon reaching Pernambuco in 1551. He formed his theory and practice of mission on the basis of his experience in Brazil. The mission to Pernambuco inspired a set of preliminary reflections by Nóbrega about the real and potential conflicts between the Jesuits’ work among the Indians and their pastoral obligations towards the Portuguese. The letter that grew out of these reflections was unique both in its form of address and in its level of engagement with its recipients.

The problems of the Pernambuco mission were similar to those of the other Jesuit missions in Brazil: a corrupt secular clergy, illegal slavery, and concubinage. These problems are outlined in a series of letters to Portugal that precede the letter to the settlers. Nóbrega had written to Rodrigues that the Jesuits might have been killed by the settlers had it not been for the support of the governor. But soon after, writing to the Jesuits in Coimbra, he focuses on the missionaries’ successes in preaching to the Indians.¹⁶ Nóbrega expresses a sense of wonder that Indians who had been enslaved by Christians frequently traveled long distances in order to hear the missionaries preach, and in doing so he makes a claim about Jesuit ministry (as it was presented to the Indians) that is not found elsewhere in his writings. “We tell them,” he writes, “that we have come to this land principally for them and not for the white men.”¹⁷ This statement provides the point of departure for the critical literature about the Jesuits in Brazil. Yet Nóbrega and his immediate successors in the missions rarely identified their flock with anything approaching this kind of explicitness, and their writings underline the conflicting claims of their ministries to the Indians and settlers during the first generation of mission work.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Cartas*, 24. The last line quoted refers to the handful of non-Jesuit religious who preceded the missionaries in Pernambuco.

¹⁶ *Cartas*, 89.

¹⁷ *Cartas*, 95.

¹⁸ The assumption that the Jesuits’ ministry was not centrally concerned

Contrasting with his previous criticism of the Pernambucans are declarations by Nóbrega (throughout the sequence of letters preceding the letter to the settlers) that the Jesuits had "many friends" among the settlers and that at least some of the Portuguese had "reformed."¹⁹ He says that he was well received and that the settlers had asked him to stay on.²⁰ Nóbrega's continued preoccupation with his ministry to the Portuguese, his recent experience in Pernambuco, and his respect for Duarte Coelho (1480-85-1554) (the original holder of the donatary captaincy there) were the central factors contributing to his decision to write to the settlers after returning to Bahia. His letter took the form of a Pentecost exhortation.²¹

The unconventional nature of Nóbrega's appeal to the settlers is not evident in the opening passages of the letter. His

with the Portuguese is shared by writers from Leite, Gilberto Freyre, and Sérgio Buarque to Dauril Alden, David Sweet and Luiz Felipe Baêta Neves Flores in more recent studies. The casualness with which Leite posits the central goals of the 1549 mission is particularly striking in his introduction to Nóbrega's letters, where he states: "During the first period, without neglecting the whites, the conversion of the Gentios was (Nóbrega's) immediate goal, the principle object of his worries and efforts..." This formulation of the mission (particularly the erroneous assertion that the Jesuits' mission to the Indians did not significantly affect their work among the settlers) does not address Nóbrega's frequently expressed preoccupation with the viability of ministering to both Portuguese and Indians. See *Ibid.*, Introduction, 15; and HCJB, 2:3, 141, and *passim*. Writers such as Freyre and Buarque (despite their fundamental differences with Leite about the role of the Jesuits in Brazil) have likewise left unchallenged the basic premise that the Jesuits leaving Lisbon were indifferent toward their ministry to the Portuguese in Brazil. See Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York, 1956); Buarque, *Visão do Paraíso* (second edition, São Paulo, 1977); Dauril Alden, "Changing Jesuit Perceptions of the Brasis During the Sixteenth Century," in *Journal of World History* 3:2 (1992); David Sweet, "A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750." (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1974); and Luiz Felipe Baêta Neves Flores, *O Combate dos Soldados de Christo na Terra dos Papagaios: Colonialismo e Repressão Cultural* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978).

¹⁹ *Cartas*, 92.

²⁰ Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, 1:231.

²¹ The letter was brought to Pernambuco by Antonio Pires and appears to have been read by Pires in public. Nóbrega had recently praised Duarte Coelho in a letter to King John III. See *Cartas*, 99.

injunction to the Portuguese to seek confession (along with his apology for sending a set of ecclesiastical laws to the settlers rather than addressing them individually) no doubt led the Pernambucans to conclude that the letter would contain nothing more than a restatement of past pleas for reform. The letter's opening gloss on Pentecost was likewise framed in self-deprecating terms that were likely to have been familiar to Nóbrega's listeners of the summer before:

My dear Brother and Father Antonio Pires (c. 1519-1572) will speak to you from more close by, and with more charity, than I do in writing. Listen to him, whom I believe the Lord will give a tongue to tell you what I have to say, for He gave many (tongues) of fire to some poor and ignorant fishermen. He will also give (Pires) courage to weep for your sins, together with his own and mine.²²

Notwithstanding this rendering of Pires as an instrument of the Holy Spirit, Nóbrega's purpose in the letter is to identify the settlers themselves — not the Jesuits — as the successors to the Apostles. In an effort to bind the Jesuits and the settlers in a shared mission, Nóbrega focuses his exhortation on the fire ignited at Pentecost. He places the history of Brazil within a Christian framework and discerns the workings of divine providence in the New World during his own time:

And because only from these lands (so forgotten by Our Lord many thousands of years ago) has such a fire not risen up or even been known, I fervently wish that those to whom Our Lord gives it should take great care that it not be extinguished... I wish that you might burn with charity in such a way that even the forests might be aflame... You are the new seed that the Lord placed and planted in these lands! Who detains you that you reap no fruit worthy to be presented at the table of the Celestial King? These are the principal riches that you must harvest in Brazil.²³

²² *Cartas*, 109.

²³ *Cartas*, 110.

At no other point in his writings does Nóbrega issue a comparable appeal to the settlers to be partners in the missionary project. With the exception of the brief reference to Pires in his introduction of the Pentecost lesson, the letter assigns no special status to the Jesuits in the fulfillment of the evangelical promise of the New World. Nóbrega here advances a vision of colonial society that goes well beyond the preoccupation with the contingencies of mission life to which necessity and his own temperament had confined him thus far. The letter to the Pernambucans suggests that the Jesuits' de-emphasis of their mission to the Portuguese in Brazil was not merely a reflexive response to the demands of the backlands, and that Nóbrega in particular had carefully elaborated a project of coexistence with the settlers that was rooted in the apostolic benefits — for the Indians, and by extension for colonial society as a whole — that this coexistence would bring. It was his inability to implement this project by navigating successfully between the Portuguese and the Indians (particularly in the matter of Indian slavery) that led him at the end of the decade to condemn the reception of the missionary church in colonial society and to escalate his attacks on the settlers.²⁴

The letter to the Pernambucans concludes with an ambiguous reference to Paul.²⁵ Without citing Paul's words, Nóbrega seems to be arguing for the radical separation of Christian mission and economic gain. The letter nonetheless concludes with a conciliatory gesture to the Pernambucans, for Nóbrega affirms the human differences in the New World that may be apprehended through the lesson of Paul. Alluding to the "varieties of gifts," Nóbrega writes:

from that small portion that is distributed by the Holy Spirit, we pass to another great and perfect gift. (The Spirit), which "bloweth where it listeth" (Jn.3.8) and gave much to the

²⁴ The most important attack of this kind appeared in his 1559 letter to Tomé de Sousa. See *Ibid.*, 313ff.

²⁵ "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of services, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good." 1 Cor.12.4-7.

Apostles, also gives to this land its portion. With (the Spirit) wishing, and with you seeking to hear it, I know that you will make joyful the City of God... Now we wait for a Bishop, and also Fathers from the Society, which will help us all.²⁶

The last sentence, which moves the letter from a broad meditation on colonial society to the immediate necessities of the mission, is characteristic of Nóbrega, particularly because he alone was responsible for the development and execution of the Jesuits' missionary strategy throughout their first decade in Brazil.

The letter to the Pernambucans has not been studied by scholars, in part because the understanding of Jesuit ministry that it sets forth is at odds with the pastoral strategy that Nóbrega proposes in most of his other writings, particularly the *Diálogo sobre a Conversão do Gentio*. Yet the letter and the *Diálogo* are complementary texts, for nowhere in Nóbrega's writings would the link between missionary ideals and practice be made more apparent. Both texts — the first addressed to a contentious group of settlers, the second to Nóbrega's Jesuit intimates — explore the bonds that are possible between disparate people in a colonial society where secular and religious authority are tenuous at best. Both texts express Nóbrega's maximum hopes for the unity of the Brazilian colony. But during the four years between the letter and the *Diálogo*, Nóbrega determined to leave behind the letter's meditations on Portuguese society in order to concentrate his own efforts and those of the Society on the Jesuits' faltering ministry to the Indians.

The *Diálogo* is generally considered "the first work of literature to have been written as such in Brazil."²⁷ It contains a strong affirmation of the innate spiritual capacities of the Indians: Nóbrega claimed that the Indians were easier to convert than the pagans to whom the Apostles were sent, and he was encouraged by the fact that many Indians had embraced

²⁶ *Cartas*, 111-112.

²⁷ Nóbrega, *Diálogo sobre a Conversão do gentio*, ed. Serafim Leite (Lisbon, 1954), Introduction, 7. The *Diálogo* was written in Bahia after Nóbrega's return from a mission of more than three years in São Vicente.

Christianity despite having been mistreated by Europeans. These are the only elements of his argument that have been analyzed in any depth in the critical literature.²⁸ I would argue, however, that Nóbrega's discussion of Indian capacities is of secondary importance in the *Diálogo*, and that the central purpose of the text is to elaborate a vision of colonial society and of the place of the Jesuits within that society. The *Diálogo* is a long internal memorandum to Nóbrega's fellow Jesuits. Without the personal and institutional criticisms that run throughout the text, the *Diálogo* would constitute a comparatively insignificant Brazilian contribution to contemporary European arguments about the nature of the Indians. These arguments would be pursued more systematically by José de Acosta (1540-1600) and by other Jesuits who succeeded Nóbrega in the New World and who shared his preoccupation with developing a vocabulary with which to communicate religious ideas to the Indians. Nóbrega's interest in writing the *Diálogo* lay elsewhere. The fundamental tensions within the Society and within the Brazilian church that Antonio Vieira identified in the 1640s were already clearly visible in the *Diálogo*, and these tensions would continue to shape Jesuit thought in Brazil well into the eighteenth century.²⁹

²⁸ The *Diálogo* has received little critical attention. The most important discussion of the text remains the introduction by Leite to the 1954 edition. Leite argues that the central idea of the *Diálogo* is the comparative aptitude for conversion to Christianity of the Romans and the Brazilian Indians. See also Fred Gillette Sturm, "'Estes têm alma como nós?' Manuel da Nóbrega's View of the Brazilian Indians," in Alfred Hower and Richard A. Preto-Rodas, eds., *Empire in Transition: The Portuguese World in the Time of Camões* (Gainseville, 1985); and Baêta Neves, op. cit. References below to the text of the *Diálogo* refer to line numbers in the text published in *Cartas*.

²⁹ The most notable examples in the generation after Vieira are André João Antonil and Jorge Benci. Antonil was the pseudonym of João Antonio Andreoni (1649-1716), author of *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas*, an economic treatise that was among the most widely circulated books by a Brazilian author of the colonial period (Lisbon, 1711; ed. Andrée Mansuy, Paris, 1968). Benci (ca. 1650-1708), whose occupation is listed as "moralist" in Leite's brief bio-bibliographical essay, was the author of *Economia cristã dos senhores no governo dos escravos* (Rome, 1705; São Paulo, 1977), an inquiry into the theory and practice of slavery in Brazil. See HCJB, VII, 45, 95. For a defense of Benci's arguments, see Leite's introduction to the 1954 Porto edition of *Economia cristã*.

The first words of the *Diálogo*, like the first words of Sinão de Vasconcelos's (c. 1596-1671) *Crônica*, lay the foundations of the author's interpretation of Jesuit ministry. In the only passage that is not spoken by the dialogue's interlocutors, Nóbrega offers a veiled apology to his fellow Jesuits:

Because the times have given me a place in which to rest, I wish to speak with my Brothers about what my spirit feels...³⁰

The very casualness of this salutation suggests Nóbrega's uneasiness about the work that he has placed before his readers. This uneasiness stems not from the content of his argument but from the act of writing itself. Nóbrega's anxiety was well-founded. It was characteristic of the first generation of Jesuits to encourage the writing of letters while assigning less importance to other forms of writing.³¹ Nóbrega was rightly wary of how a work such as the *Diálogo* would be received at this early stage of the Jesuits' ministry. His writings during his first decade in Brazil were focused on the immediate problems of establishing the mission, and the *Diálogo*, despite its speculative elements, did not shift this focus. But in presenting a literary work that was more ambitious in both theme and structure than his letters, Nóbrega found it necessary to explain the origin of his effort. By calling attention to the fact that the *Diálogo* had been fortuitously written after his return to Bahia from a three-year mission to São Vicente, Nóbrega did more than merely adopt a standard literary device: he drew attention to the differences between the conditions of literary production in Brazil and Portugal, despite the emphasis on ministry over learning in both colony and metropolis. Writing in the colony, — even writing about pastoral issues — removed the writer from the exigencies of mission work, and for this reason depar-

³⁰ *Diálogo*, 1.

³¹ "In their pastoral activities... the Jesuits preferred the spoken word to the written, direct human contact to a page of print." O'Malley, op. cit., 115. Nóbrega did not seek to publish the *Diálogo*, which first appeared in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 43, Iª Parte (Rio de Janeiro, 1880).

tures from the standard epistolary form that would have required little justification in Europe needed to be explained in Brazil. Like Antonio Vieira, whose millenarian tract "Esperanças de Portugal" would take the form of a private letter begun while he was traveling down the Amazon in a canoe, Nóbrega presented his most profound reflections on Jesuit ministry in the form of an in-house instruction.³² Also like Vieira, Nóbrega sought to reach well beyond his immediate audience.

Nóbrega's presentation of his two interlocutors reinforces the practical focus of the text. The dialogue is spoken not by learned priests but by laymen of limited learning who live and work with the Jesuits. Gonçalo Alvarez, who was formerly married to an Indian woman, has been preaching to the Indians of Espírito Santo. Mateus Nogueira is a blacksmith who, "although he does not preach with words, does so with works and with hammer blows." It is the unlettered Nogueira (called "blacksmith of Jesus Christ" in the opening apologia for the *Diálogo*) who speaks for Nóbrega, as the choice of an interlocutor whose initials are the same as those of the author suggests. Jesuit documents place these two men in Brazil during the 1550s and list their occupations. While Alvarez is described only as a "layman in the service of the house," the activities of Nogueira are better documented. He participated in fighting against the Indians of Espírito Santo, where he apparently was living when Leonardo Nunes (d. 1554) made a mission to the captaincy several months after the Jesuits arrived in Brazil. Nunes admitted Nogueira to the Society, and the tools that Nogueira traded for food produced by the Indians were vital to the maintenance of the Jesuit houses of São Vicente. At Nóbrega's request, Nogueira in 1560 was formally named a temporal coadjutor of the Society. He died the following year.³³

³² "Esperanças de Portugal, Quinto Imperio do Mundo," in *Obras Escolhidas*, eds. Hernani Cidade and Antonio Sérgio (12 vols., Lisbon, 1951-54) VI, 1-66.

³³ See Serafim Leite, *Artes e ofícios dos jesuítas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1953, 221-23); and Nóbrega, *Diálogo da conversão do gentio*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra, 1954), Introduction, 45-47. For a discussion of the complex issue of grades of membership in Brazil and in Europe during the first decades of the Society, see O'Malley, *op. cit.*, 60-61, 77-80, 345-47.

The first exchange of the *Diálogo* suggests that the two men agree about the missionary enterprise. "It is too much to work with these (Indians)," Alvarez begins. Nogueira responds by stating his own doubts about the capacity of the Indians to understand Christianity.³⁴ But out of this initial impression of shared disillusionment, there emerges almost imperceptibly the dramatic tension that Nóbrega develops with consummate skill in the *Diálogo*.³⁵

After Alvarez laments that preaching to the Indians "is like preaching in the desert to stones," Nogueira expands on the theme:

as they do not know what it is to believe or to worship, they cannot understand the preaching of the Gospel, since this is founded in making them believe in and worship one God, and in their serving only this God; and as these *gentio* worship nothing, and believe nothing, all that you tell them amounts to nothing.³⁶

Nogueira continues to criticize the Indians in language that is similar to that of Alvarez, comparing them to the

In connection with temporal coadjutors and the larger question of Jesuit economic activities in Brazil, Nóbrega concluded early in his mission that crown subsidies and local alms would not sustain the Jesuits, and that members of the Society would have to master trades. His later letters produced a running commentary on his differences with Luis da Grã about how to support the mission. See *Cartas*, 354-96; and Vasconcelos, op. cit., I, 211.

³⁴*Diálogo*, 12.

³⁵The prose of the *Diálogo* makes little attempt at artfulness. Its aesthetic appeal lies in the directness of its language and in the effectiveness with which it uses uneducated interlocutors as vehicles for exploring religious and social issues.

The critical literature on the *Diálogo* does not address Nóbrega's rhetorical strategy, particularly the way in which the differences between the speakers develop in the course of the text. Leite focuses on the historical context in which the dialogue was written, while a more recent analysis that seeks to convey something of the dramatic quality of the *Diálogo* misreads the opening words of Alvarez as a personal lament (translated as "I've had it!") rather than as a formulation of the central questions of missionary strategy facing the speakers. See Sturm, op. cit., 74.

³⁶*Diálogo*, 18.

unworthy animals of the Gospel of Matthew. Although he does not refer explicitly to the attendant threat to the preacher with which this passage concludes, the lesson for Jesuit readers is clear.³⁷ Nogueira offers no immediate objection to Alvarez's declaration that the only effective teaching instrument available to the Jesuits is corporal punishment, and he is consoled when he asks:

Is there then no remedy? Shall we exhaust ourselves in vain? Shall I work at my forge night and day, and will my work among (the Indians) give me nothing to bring before Christ when he comes to judge us, so that I may at least endure some of my sins?³⁸

Alvarez assures Nogueira that his labors will not be lost. Alluding to Nogueira's work at his furnace, Alvarez equates Nogueira's body with the burnt offering in scripture that is completely consumed, and he tells Nogueira that his sacrifice will be pleasing to God.³⁹ Although the roles of the two men will quickly be reversed when Nogueira comforts Alvarez, the solace that Nogueira will offer is less easily apprehended than the reward that Alvarez has promised.

The dialogue's emotionally charged evocation of Nogueira's sacrifice underlines one of the central preoccupations of Nóbrega's career as a Jesuit: the relationship between the work of the theologian and that of the pastor, and, more broadly, between thought and action. Nogueira's observation that the Indians "have shown few signs of being able to become Christians" begins an exchange that suggests some of the ongoing tensions of the missionary vocation:

Alvarez: Of what use to me, then, is my tongue?

Nogueira: Ha, ha, ha... Do you know why I laugh? Because you ask me of what use is your tongue, for I ask you: of

³⁷ "Do not give what is holy to dogs; and do not throw your pearls before swine, or they will trample them under foot and turn and maul you." Mt.7.6; *Diálogo*, 33.

³⁸ *Diálogo*, 81.

³⁹ Lev.1.1.

what use is my forge?

Alvarez: I have already answered this question for you.

Nogueira: Take the same answer.

Alvarez: No, for our offices are different, because mine is to speak, and yours is to make.

Nogueira: Yet there is no difference in the goal, for which each one of us must do what he can.

Alvarez: And what is this goal?

Nogueira: Charity and love of God and neighbor.

Alvarez: And you, Brother, are you already a theologian?⁴⁰

In reminding Nogueira of the rigid hierarchy that is maintained even within the self-contained Jesuit world of the colony, Alvarez is doing more than merely mocking his companion. The debate about the relative merits of speaking (*falar*) and making (*fazer*) that informs the *Diálogo* (and is a central concern in Nóbrega's letters) would continue to shape debates about the Jesuit vocation throughout the colonial period. It is Alvarez, not Nogueira, who here introduces the suggestion that the words of the lay preacher might not be equal in the eyes of God to the hammer blows of the blacksmith. In keeping with the constantly shifting dramatic tension of the *Diálogo*, Nogueira now assures Alvarez that they are both working towards the same end.

Nóbrega was occupied above all with building a viable church in Brazil that would include all members of colonial society. He quickly came to recognize the limits of what the Jesuits could hope to accomplish in their work among the Portuguese. During the years prior to the arrival of Governor Mem de Sá in 1557, Nóbrega's inability to limit the illegal slave trade among the Portuguese made him move towards an emphasis on the physical separation of Indians and Portuguese and on reducing the Jesuits' reliance on crown support. The art of speaking, and particularly of speaking Portuguese — to the settlers in Brazil, or to his fellow Jesuits in Coimbra — came quickly to occupy a secondary place in Nóbrega's missionary strategy. The form of speech on which he placed the highest

⁴⁰ *Diálogo*, 146.

value was the communication that the Jesuits were able to establish with the Indians by learning the various indigenous languages of Brazil.⁴¹

The discussion of the distinction between speaking and doing and the question it provokes about his qualifications as a theologian bring a gently ironic response from Nogueira, who thus far has been deferential towards Alvarez. He says that his learning is indeed haphazard, for it has been gathered from his more learned fellow Jesuits when they approach him at his forge. But Nogueira is prepared to elaborate on the notion that the Indians are neighbors when Alvarez questions his use of the term:

Alvarez: Tell me, Brother Nogueira: these people are neighbors?

Nogueira: It seems so to me.

Alvarez: For what reason?

Nogueira: Because I never find myself without them, with their hatchets and scythes.

Alvarez: And for this reason you call them neighbors?

Nogueira: Yes, because "neighbors" means people who have drawn near, and they always draw themselves near to me, that I might do for them what is needed. And I do it for them as I would do for neighbors, making sure that I follow the precept to love my neighbor as myself, for I do for them what I would wish them to do for me, if I were to have a similar need.⁴²

This exchange is the turning point in the *Diálogo*. Nogueira proposes that the very proximity of the Indians (*proximo*) at once confirms their humanity and defines the missionary enterprise.⁴³ Put differently, Nogueira, whose creden-

⁴¹ Nóbrega thus reserves particularly high praise for the gifted Jesuit linguist João de Azpilcueta Navarro, nephew of Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro, Nóbrega's professor in canon law at Salamanca. See *Cartas*, 21; and Leite, *Breve itinerários*, 26.

⁴² *Diálogo*, 170.

⁴³ In looking to the language of the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk.10.30-37), Nóbrega draws on one of the deepest strains of Jesuit thou-

tials as a theologian have been joked about by Alvarez, uses a play on words to set to one side a set of theological and juridical questions that occupied Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), Acosta, and their successors for more than a century after the Europeans' arrival in the New World. Instead of looking to learned investigations of the Indians to address the problems of the missionary enterprise, Nóbrega tightens the link between the world of the missionaries and that of Jesus and the Apostles.

Mateus Nogueira was an ideal vehicle for the articulation of Nóbrega's vision of colonial society because of the simplicity of the response Nóbrega provided to the central question facing the Jesuits of Brazil during the early colonial period: "who is my neighbor?"⁴⁴ The dialogue's instruction to the Jesuits on the Indians as neighbors (and the letters that followed it) acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling ministry to the Indians with ministry to the settlers. In urging the Society to concentrate its efforts on the former ministry Nóbrega lay the foundation block of the debate about the nature of the Jesuit enterprise in Brazil and throughout the New World.

ght. Ignatius closed one of his two surviving letters to Nóbrega by praying "that (the Jesuits in Brazil) might always be useful instruments of divine providence in order to help your salvation and the salvation of your neighbors." *Cartas*, 508. Of the expressions that the Jesuits used to define themselves, O'Malley writes that "none occurs more frequently in Jesuit documentation — on practically every page — than 'to help souls'... Ignatius used it again and again to describe what motivated him and was to motivate the Society. His disciples seized upon it and tirelessly repeated it as the best and most succinct description of what they were trying to do." *Op. cit.*, 18.

⁴⁴Lk.10.29.

THE JESUITS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIANS IN BRAZIL

LUIS PALACIN GÓMEZ, S.J.¹

The colonization of Brazil, as with that of all America, can be considered from two opposing, though complementary, points of view: first, the building of a new society and the implementation of a culture on the part of the colonizers; second, the gradual destruction and annihilation of the indigenous societies and cultures already existing there.

This double phenomenon presented itself for the first time on a reduced scale in the islands of the Atlantic during the 15th century. European expansion was getting underway; and, with the discovery of America and the catastrophic occurrence in the Antilles, this destruction and annihilation continued to repeat itself in the advancing European colonization throughout the American continent in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, even reaching down to our own 20th century.

The annihilation of the indigenous cultures definitely had a side effect on colonization, a surprising effect not directly sought and sometimes even a source of moral anguish for the colonizers who did not know how to avoid it.

The annihilation was not the result of physical violence, but rather of cultural conflict, although at times physical violence is most conspicuous. Given that fact, it could be stated as a historical law that the encounter or conflict between two peoples of very different cultural levels leads not to the assimilation of the primitive peoples but rather to their degradation and extinction. The conquest resulted in the stunting of the normal evolution of a primitive culture. The culture incapable of evolving petrified. Conquest brought about the breakdown of all beliefs and forms of living, a change in the routine of work and eating with the consequent alteration of metabolism, and led to a loss of interest in life.

¹ My thanks to Charles E. Ronan S.J. and Walter P. Krolkowski S.J., both of Loyola University of Chicago. Fr. Ronan translated my manuscript into English.

This study attempts to analyze, first, the impact that the colonization of Brazil had on the indigenous tribes; and secondly, the efforts of the Jesuits to prevent, or at least reduce, the destructive aspects of the encounter by promoting a peaceful and active acculturation among the Indians.

To synthesize and unify such a vast theme, two shortcuts will be taken: one temporal and the other spatial. We will analyze the first years of effective Portuguese rule in Brazil, 1550-1600; then we will move on to a consideration of the region of Bahia primarily because of its historic significance as the captaincy of the king and the seat of royal government.

The hereditary captaincies and the Indians

Brazil's colonization began in 1534 with the institution of the hereditary captaincies. During the preceding three decades since the discovery in 1500, the Portuguese crown had done little to take effective possession of the land. India, with its fabulous riches, took all its attention. But with the intensification of smuggling and in view of the imminent danger of losing what was possessed only in name, John III (1521-1557) decided to act. Unable on his own to promote the official colonization on behalf of the crown, he returned to the expedience already tried in the islands of the Atlantic: the conceding of hereditary captaincies.

John III made twelve landgrants, dividing up the long coast of Brazil into unequal parcels. The king retained supreme command, and the colonization would proceed in his name and at his service, but he granted in perpetuity an autonomy almost total and great economic advantages to the donees and their descendants.

Indians are mentioned cursorily only two times in the letter of donation of the captaincy of Pernambuco, the paradigm of later donations: the first reference occurs in the introduction, in which the donation is justified by considering "what great service there will be to God, to my own profit and indeed the profit of my kingdoms and domains, and to the natives and subjects of these territories. The population of my coast and land of Brazil will be increased more than it has up until now. Not only will Mass and the divine office be celebrated in it and

the holy Catholic faith exalted — attracting and inviting to itself the native infidels and idolators of this land — but also there will be secured great profit to my kingdoms.”²

This is the illuminated side to the ideology. The hierarchy of ends, continually repeated in official and private documents, appears here neatly structured: first, “the service of God,” in second place “my profit,” and finally, the welfare of my kingdoms and domains and that of the natives and subjects in them.” This is the common theme of modern times, “God, the king and the people.” (The Enlightenment will place the welfare of the people in the forefront.)

We also note the ingenuous affirmation of dominion: “this my coast and land of Brazil.” The conviction and the clear conscience are supported without doubt by the fact that the natives of this land are infidels and idolators. The planting of the faith and its spread always constituted for the crown the fundament of its right to colonize. From this flowed the obligation, perceived as something absolute, to promote the conversion and civilizing of the Indians, two inseparable aspects for the men of the 16th century, with emphasis placed indisputably on the first of them.

Later, in the time of the Enlightenment, civilization would become the more important. In the instruction given to Marcos de Noronha, the governor designate of Goiás (1749), “conversion” was related to “civilization” in this way: “having always in consideration that the Divine Providence does not permit the power of this monarchy to be extended in these vast regions to destroy its inhabitants or reduce them to slavery, but rather to draw them to a knowledge of religion and to change their barbarous habits to others more humane and more useful for their own preservation.”³

The second mention of Indians in the letter, much cruder,

² Letter granting the Capitania of Pernambuco to Duarte Coelho, 5 September 1534. This letter was published as an appendix to volume 2 of Vicente Tapajós, “História Administrativa do Brasil” *D.A.S.P.* (Doc. no. 7): 193 ff.

³ Letter of the King to Dom Marcos de Noronha, 17 January 1749, published by Luis Palacin “Carta a D. Marcos de Noronha” in *Província de Goyaz*, 2, 1, (1968):41 ss.

portrays the downside of the daily activities of colonization. The king says: "I am equally pleased to make a gift to the said captain and governor and his successors... that of the slaves which they salvaged and took in the said land of Brazil they may ask for each year in these kingdoms 24 slaves to do with them what seems good... and that, in addition to these twenty-four hands that they in some fashion are able to emancipate I think it proper that they are able to take as sailors and ship's boys all the slaves that they wish to and have need of."⁴

About this patent in those first days the crown did not experience the least moral inquietude for fomenting the enslavement of the Indian. A century of African adventures and the colonization of the isles in the Atlantic — the Azores, Madeira, Cabo Verde, São Tomé — based on the labors of the slave, had made of slavery an insignificant factor in the possessions overseas and in the kingdom itself.⁵

The fate of the captaincies was various: two of them, Pernambuco in the north and São Vicente in the south continued to consolidate themselves fully. The remainder either never got going, as the captaincies in the extreme north, or exhausted themselves in the midst of difficulties, such as great distances, tropical climate, pirates, internal dissensions, or Indian attacks.

The Indians' hostility was basically a response to the unbridled impulse of the colonists to procure slaves from the indigenous tribes. The most common way of enslavement was the assault without warning.

The *salteio* was a kind of warlike institution with ancient roots in the Iberian reconquest. It had started up again in the recent confrontations with the Muslim of North Africa, and Turks and Christians openly practiced it in the Mediterranean. It consisted in a rapid and sudden attack by a small group of experienced men — today we would call them commandos — who took prisoners and immediately fled with their prizes. In Brazil many times — until the native population learned its les-

⁴Letter granting the Capitania of Pernambuco, op. cit. 198.

⁵Cf. Gilberto Freire, *O Mundo que o Português Criou* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940) 30. Some authors calculate the number of slaves in Portugal during the 16th century as an eighth of the total population.

son — deceit was joined to violence. A ship landed for purposes of trade; the Indians were lulled into putting down their guard; and, when the ship was crammed with goods and people, it raised anchor, taking all aboard as slaves to sell them in the nearest slave market.

About this practice of the deceitful *salteio*, Nóbrega, the superior of the Jesuits, noted in 1550: "I wrote to your reverence about these attacks which occur in this land where it would be a wonder to see a slave who was not taken in an attack. In these attacks, the Portuguese come in peace among the Negroes to buy what they have. They then treacherously fill their boats with the natives and flee with them; and some boast that they can do this because the Negroes have treated the Christians badly."⁶

One of these attacks caused the ruin of Pero Gois' captaincy of Paraíba del Sur. Henrique Luis, one of the adventurers who flourished on the coast, took "a great friend of the Christians," an indigenous chief asking for sanctuary, as prisoner. Afterwards, he handed him over to an enemy tribe who ate him. The captaincy was dragged down by the assaults of the Indians, and its inhabitants took refuge in the captaincy of Espírito Santo. The donnee returned to Lisbon.

The fate of Francisco Pereira Coutinho, the donnee of Bahia who arrived in 1536, was far worse. After a brief period of peace and good relations with the Indians, during which he founded "the town" Pereira or the *Vila Velha* and built two sugar mills, he did not know how to restrain "the foolishness" of some of his men, which caused an general uprising of the Indians. The Tupi destroyed the sugar mills and the plantations. The colonists, surrounded in their coastal fortifications for more than seven years, had to go by sea to seek water and food for the captaincies of Ilheus. Finally, advised by his men, Coutinho withdrew, but while he was returning, having been called by the Indians with promises of peace, he suffered shipwreck on entering the harbor. "The people were saved from this shipwreck, but not from the hands of the Tupi living on

⁶ Letter of Father Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, de 1550, *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome, 1956) I:212.

this island (Taparica) who came together and treacherously killed Francisco Pereira and the others in his small caravel."⁷ Afterwards, according to custom, they ate them at a ritual banquet.

The death of Pereira Coutinho and the sad situation in which the captaincies of Ilheus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo found themselves made John III decide to undertake the colonization of Brazil by the direct intervention of the crown. He instituted what came to be called the governor general.

The governor general

In March of 1549, the first governor, Tomé de Sousa,⁸ arrived in Bahia accompanied by more than a thousand people — colonists, exiles, soldiers, sailors, and functionaries — to initiate the construction of the capital, Salvador, and to install the central government.

In the same way that the creation of the hereditary captaincies had signified a compromise between the centralizing tendency of the monarchy and the urgency of colonizing Brazil, the governor general signified a new compromise between the intervention of the state and the maintaining of the autonomy of private individuals. The individual captaincies continued to exist and lasted into the 18th century, but they lost their total exemption from governmental controls. To the governor belonged the functions of policing and fiscal control of defense, justice, and taxes.

The Regimiento of Tomé de Sousa,⁹ that is, the document that specified the powers and duties of the governor, is considered to be the constitution of colonial Brazil. In fact, with small

⁷ Gabriel Soares de Souza. *Trata do Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, *Brasiliense*, série 5a, 117:52.

⁸ Tomé de Sousa. B. c. 1562; d. 28 January 1579; governor, 7 January 1549 — 8 May 1553.

⁹ See Ruth Lapham Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil, 1545-1553," *Mid-America* 24 (1942):236-242 for a résumé of the *Regimento* in an English translation. See also W.B. Greenlee, "The First Half Century of Brazilian History," *Mid-America* 25 (1943):91-120.

alterations, in the 17th century in the *Regimiento* of Roque Barreto and in the 18th century in the additions of Prince Fernando, it would retain its vigor until the end of the colonial period. Although the *Regimiento* of Tomé de Sousa effectively pinpoints the lessons concerning the treatment of the Indians that were learned from the sad experiences of the captaincies, it also shows the insoluble contradictions inherent in the government's position as the primary agent of colonization. The document clearly indicates that, in the mind of King John III and his advisors, the Indian takes on enormous importance. Of the 48 chapters that make up the *Regimiento*, nine refer to various aspects of the Indian problem.

As the center of this document, the king places his emphatic declaration of principles: "Since what principally moved me to populate the said lands of Brazil was that the people be converted to our holy Catholic faith, we very much commend to you that you speak with the said captains and officials about the best possible way to bring it about. Say to them for me that it would please me greatly if they took special care to bring about the Christianization of these peoples."

The document, taking into account this fundamental purpose of colonization, proposes as an adequate means a policy of respect and peace: "And in order that they may be happy to be Christians you should treat all of them well with those things that are of peace and show favor to them always. Do not cause them to be oppressed or aggravated, and, in case you do occasion such a situation, work to correct and amend it, so that they remain satisfied; and see to it that those who are culpable be justly punished (chapter 23)."

The king then moves on to condemn in severe terms the damnable practice of the *salteio*, which is the reason why the Indians rise up against the Christians and is the basic cause of the destruction which they have inflicted. Hence, the document continues, any person, no matter what his position or rank, who wages war against the natives without the governor general's permission or the permission of the donatory of the captaincy or punishes them beyond the measure permitted, will incur the death penalty and confiscation of all his goods; and this holds true even though the natives have initiated hostilities (chapter 27).

Unfortunately, however, the proviso permitted hostilities

as long as one received the proper permissions; this would prove to be a fatal mistake. It would mark the limit beyond which the government's conscience could not be stretched in the matter of the assimilation of the Indian into Portuguese colonial life. The government would strive to set itself up as the supreme and impartial dispenser of justice both for the Portuguese colonist and for the native Indian.

In practice, however, these solemn declarations would remain a "dead letter." Their violations would go unpunished, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same situation exists down to our own day. At the end of the 16th century Simão Travassos¹⁰ wrote that neither fear of God nor fear of punishment slowed down in the least the organizing of expeditions to capture the Indians, because "as these faults are to be attributed to the chiefs, there is never punishment for these reasons in Brazil."¹¹ In the 18th century, Marcos de Noronha e Brito, the Conde dos Arcos (1771-1828), the first governor of Pernambuco and later of Goiás, called the enslavement of the Indians by the greedy colonists the "second original sin of the Americas." He recognized how little the authorities did or could do in this matter of enslavement. Of one of these expeditions he wrote: "It is undeniable that this armed expedition is going to surpass *moderamine inculpatae tutelae* and under the deceitful title of fighting a defensive war they will wage an offensive one, attacking the Indians in their villages. This is the experience of those who know what is going on... blindly excusing themselves for remov-

¹⁰ Simão Travassos. B. 1543 Ferreiros; e. 1562; d. 1618 Olinda.

¹¹ Travassos, "Sumário das armadas que se fizeram e guerras que se deram na conquista do rio Parahyba" *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 36 (1873) 5-89. Travassos describes with extraordinary vigor the type, afterwards called *sertanista*, who dedicated themselves to exploiting the Indians: "What was astonishing was the boldness and freedom of these men, who were permitted to travel that enormous land for the space of two, three, or four years, without God, without support, nude like the savages, subject to all kinds of disasters. These men penetrated the land for two hundred or three hundred leagues, serving the devil with that same disregard of martyrdom in order to enslave that our ancient fathers of the desert had in the service of Christ. Things were so notorious and evils so without remedy that it was as if as Christians they had forgotten all they knew."

ing the Indians in order to sell them. I do not know any way of avoiding these disorders because there is no provision powerful enough to stop them. To punish them would cause a revolution in the souls of the inhabitants, who are persuaded that killing Indians is not homicide but is judged to be an act of virtue, in spite of the ordinances of his Majesty to the contrary, of which they make little and in spite of my recommendations.”¹²

It is evident that, despite his good intentions, the king was not in equal measure the king of the Portuguese and king of the Indians. Despite his sincere, fatherly attitude toward these subjects, the Crown was the “prime agent of colonization,” and an integral part of that task was the occupation of the land and the consequent expulsion of the Indians, their enslavement being a “mere corollary of this fundamental fact.” The *Regimiento* clearly establishes the scope or extent of this ambiguous position. In chapter 6, the king orders the governor to punish severely the Indians of Bahia who took part in the murder of Francisco Pereira Coutinho.¹³ In the king’s eyes, this was a matter of justice which should serve as a severe warning to the Indians, “both those living at peace with the colonists and the other tribes living along the coast of Brazil.” For this reason, his orders are extremely severe: “It is very much in the service of God and in my service that they be rigorously punished who have initiated and waged these wars,” and “at the time that they seek peace with you, you must try to place some of those leaders who participated in the said revolt in your power. You must order them brought to justice so that they are hanged in those villages in which they were leaders” (chapter 6).

It is indeed true that the king, at the conclusion of the document, notes the extreme rigor of these orders and adds therefore a postscript in which he recommends moderation to the governor: “In some chapters of this *regimiento*, I order that war against the pagans be waged in the form outlined in these chapters. I order you to try to punish the guilty for what they have done, realizing the little understanding that this people have had until now — which diminishes their culpability and it

¹² Letter of Conde dos Arcos, Governor of Goiás, to Ouvidor of Capitania, Arquivo Estadual de Goiás, ms. 1129, fl. 211v.

¹³ Francisco Pereira Coutinho, first donatário of Bahia. D. 1547.

may be that many are repented of what they have done. Still I would consider it a service to me that if they acknowledge their guilt and seek pardon, it be granted them... Because my principal intention is that they be converted to our holy faith, it is reasonable that all possible means be taken with them to bring this about. And the principal thing is to avoid waging war" (Chapter 45).

King John's humanitarianism is to his credit, and it can be said in all truth that the same nobility of sentiment was characteristic of all Portuguese kings in formulating policies regarding the treatment of the Indians. However, the unfortunate fact remains that the Crown was never able to restrain the violent acts of the colonists and local authorities against the Indians. This failure stemmed principally from the very dynamic of colonization that legally justified a "just war," a war of punishment and slavery against those unsubdued tribes defending their own territory. Invoking the "just war" principle lent itself to opening the doors to slave raids. In 1540, however, when the *Regimiento* was being drawn up, the question of morality had not even been raised. The debate and the need for juridical formularies would become an issue only with the arrival of the Jesuits in Brazil in 1549 in the expedition of the colony's first governor general, Tomé de Sousa.

The Jesuits

In 1549, the Jesuits were in existence scarcely ten years.¹⁴ The sending out of Francis Xavier (1506-1552) to the Portuguese Orient was a joint action of the Crown and of Ignatius of Loyola (c. 1491-1556), founder of the order. Xavier initiated the work of the missions, having established the first autonomous province of the order in Portugal in 1542. Within a few years, the Jesuits were established throughout the Orient — in India, Malacca, and Japan — and were working quite effectively. In establishing the government of Brazil under a governor

¹⁴ The Society of Jesus was recognized as an order by the bull "Regimini militantis ecclesiae" of 27 September 1540.

general, John III planned to call on the Jesuits for assistance in the colonization process of Brazil which was foundering badly. The Portuguese historian, Jaime Cortesão, epitomized the advance of this aspect of the mission of the Jesuits in Brazil: "The problem arose from the insufficiency of the regulation of the donatories. The solution was the institution of the governor general, accompanied by a mission of Jesuits. The governor general and the Jesuits were viewed as two instruments of the state. They arose simultaneously and complemented each other in the thinking of the statesmen. Both obeyed the same necessities and constituted a remedy for the same evil. Each one in its own way reflected the consciousness that the state had acquired of the dangers which threatened Brazil and the rejection of all the Portuguese overseas empire."¹⁵

The Jesuits were sent by the Crown to pacify hostile Indian tribes and to assist in bringing order into the colony which was threatened by the violent, uncontrollable passions of the colonists. The king felt that in this manner he would satisfy his obligation in conscience to promote the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith. Given the nature of the *Padroado Português* whereby the king, as Master of the Order of Christ, incorporated into himself political power and the very serious obligation of seeing to the evangelization of Brazil, there was no distinction between the religious and political purposes of the state.

In 1564, King Sebastian decided to increase the number of Jesuit missionaries supported by the state. He founded colégios in Bahia (1565) and afterwards in Río de Janeiro (1568) and Pernambuco (1572) — colégio here does not signify an educational institution but rather the support of a certain number of missionaries. He invoked the example of John III and his own obligation and justified these colégios in these words: "Don Sebastian, by the grace of God king of Portugal... as governor and perpetual administrator of the Orden de Cavalaria do Mestrado de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, I want to make known to all those that see this letter of donation that, considering the

¹⁵ Jaime Cortesão, "De los comienzos a 1799", in vol. *Brasil* in the collection directed by Antonio Ballesteros, *Historia de América* (Salvat Editores, 1956), 380.

obligation which the crown of my kingdoms and holdings has in the conversion of the gentiles of these parts of Brazil... and seeing how appropriate the Institute of the fathers of the Society of Jesus is for the conversion of the infidels and gentiles of these parts, I have determined — with the approval of the members of my Council — to order the completion, in these parts, a colegio of said Society such that up to sixty persons may reside in it.”¹⁶

From the viewpoint of the Jesuits, this alliance with the Crown was fully justified by the purpose for which it was established, namely, the conversion of the Indian. What is more, although they were fully aware that, in their missionary endeavor, they were working for the increased power of the Crown in the matter of colonization, this alliance with the Crown never posed a moral problem for them. As a matter of fact, they stressed this very point on a number of occasions when they were defending their interests before the Crown or the Crown authorities.

The two centuries during which this close union with the Crown lasted, that is, until the time of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal, the Jesuits strengthened this identification with the Crown with respect to the Indians; and, in their differences with both the colonists and colonial authorities, they had the support of a powerful “lobby” at Court.

Difficult times (1549-1559)

The band of Jesuits who arrived in 1549 were six in number. One of them was Manuel da Nóbrega,¹⁷ the superior of the group. Three more arrived the following year, and in 1553 four more, one of them being José de Anchieta,¹⁸ not yet ordained a

¹⁶ Letter of the King of 1564 founding the Colégio of Bahia *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome 1960) 4:95.

¹⁷ Manuel da Nóbrega. B. 18 October 1517, Portugal; e. 21 November 1544; d. 18 October 1570, Colégio do Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁸ José de Anchieta. B. 19 March 1534, Laguna (Canary Islands); e. 1 May 1551, Coimbra, Portugal; d. 9 June 1597, Aldeia de Reritiba.

priest. More Jesuits continued to arrive, and by 1568, the Jesuit catalog lists 61 Jesuits, 37 of them having been born in Brazil. In number and distribution throughout the colony, with houses in every captaincy, the Jesuits represented the most organized and persistent group in the young colony. By the end of the century, their number had increased to 154 with a firm base in their three royally-founded colégios of Bahia, Rio, and Pernambuco.

The early days were extremely difficult for the Jesuits. The difficulties stemmed not only from the fact that they were living off alms and in mud huts which they themselves built but also from problems connected with their missionary apostolate. The low moral condition of the colonists shocked the Jesuits: their living in open polygamy, the fighting and dissension among them, their seeking revenge on one another, and their unjust enslaving of the Indians. The colonists had undergone a process of moral and cultural retrogression and had adopted certain aspects of the Indian way of life.

Anchieta describes an extreme case of this regression with respect to the French of Rio de Janeiro, Frenchmen who had not only given up their Catholic Faith but had turned themselves into savages. They live like Indians — he writes — eating, dancing, and singing with them, painting their bodies with black and red dyes, wearing bird feathers, dancing in loin cloths or at times in the nude, and, finally, killing their enemies in Indian fashion and adopting Indian names. All that is lacking in their very corrupt lives is eating human flesh.¹⁹ Writing fifteen days after his arrival, Nóbrega stated that the colonists had not been to confession in 17 years and that their greatest delight is having many women.²⁰

Péro Correia²¹ was a veteran colonist well acquainted with the captaincies who later became a Jesuit and was Brazil's first martyr. He had similar stories to tell: "In this land the custom has existed from the beginning that married men had twenty or

¹⁹ Letter of Anchieta to Diego Laynez, São Vicente, 8 January 1565, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 4:139.

²⁰ Letter of Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, 15 April 1549, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* I:114.

²¹ Péro Correia. E. 1550; d. end of 1554.

more slaves and Indians and had them as wives; they were and are married to *mamelucas*, who are the daughters of Christians and Indians. And in their houses a custom has arisen: their own women whom they received at the door of the church bring to their husbands' beds those concubines they show preference for; and, if their women were to refuse to do this, they would crush them by hitting them with bricks."²²

The Jesuits threw all their energy into correcting this sad situation. Apart from preaching and expelling from the Church those colonists who were leading scandalous lives, they besought the king to send a bishop and other prelates who would visit the colonists personally. While using their powers of persuasion, they could also add the fear of punishment. On his return to Portugal, Tomé de Sousa described the apostolate of Nóbrega and his fellow Jesuits in this fashion: "Upon determining how many women and men were living in sin, Nóbrega would place them in the care of the Fathers and Brothers who would exhort their charges daily to terminate their wrongdoing and confess their sins; and, if at first they did not succeed, they would continue their importunities until the colonists were converted to the Lord."²³

This action, both humbling and violent, produced a moral earthquake in the population. The governor wrote: "All the land is made into a religious order; public sins have disappeared." And of Pernambuco, the most populous captaincy, António Pires said: "The lands have been reformed in such a way that the thoughtful observer will say that this people has been reborn again, in spite of the evils that are in the land." He recalled the usuries and other sins, pondering that "for men who have eyes open to such things I have heard it said that, after we came to this land, of ten parts of sin eight parts are now gone."²⁴

The governor Tomé de Souza paid the greatest eulogy to

²² Letter of Péro Correia to Simão Rodrigues, São Vicente, 10 March 1553, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 1:438.

²³ Letter of António Quadros to Juan de Polanco, Lisbon, 17 March 1554 in *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome 1957) 2:32.

²⁴ Letter of António Pires to the fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Pernambuco, 4 June 1552, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 1:324.

the actions of the Jesuits in these first years, speaking of the persons and their successes in mythical terms. He said of them, talking with the Jesuits on his return to Portugal: "I said to them, and I think I said it to the king, that Brazil would be nothing without our fathers: that, if they were there, Brazil would be the best colony that the king had; if they were not there, Brazil would be nothing. I said clearly that here we are ruined men in comparison with the angels that our brothers in Brazil are."

But in spite of these eulogies, with regard to their principal apostolate, namely, the conversion of the Indians, Jesuit efforts were almost a complete failure.

Insurmountable difficulties regarding conversion

From the first moment of their arrival, the Jesuits dedicated themselves to the work of conversion. Inspired by the example of Francis Xavier laboring among the Hindus and Japanese, they were very depressed at their lack of success among the nearby tribes and among the slaves. Outstanding in this apostolate was João Azpilcueta,²⁵ a relative of Francis Xavier. Within a short time, he learned Tupí and with the help of interpreters translated prayers and Christian Doctrine;²⁶ but his principal labors were with the Indian youth in the schools which were opened in all the towns. Taken as a whole, however, all this work was a disaster. The few Indians who became Christian were motivated to become so either out of curiosity or because of the superior technology of the Europeans or for the material advantages they might gain. The constant complaint of missionaries, like Nóbrega, was that the Indians became Christian for the shirts they were given and not out of love for God.

²⁵ João (Juan) de Azpilcueta Navarra. E. 22 December 1549, Coimbra; d. 30 April 1557, Bahia.

²⁶ About the missionary work of the Jesuits in Brazil in the first years of the mission there is a study by William T. Reinard O.M.T., *The Evangelization of Brazil under the Jesuits (1549-1568), An Evaluation* (Rome 1969). It was presented as a doctoral thesis at the Gregorian University of Rome in a mimeographed form.

"They are moved more by the hope of reward and certain vainglory than by faith... They have no firmness and, whenever anything contrary happens, quickly return to their vomit" (Anchieta). "One ought not to hope for fruit from the chieftains because they have no capacity for it, although they give some indications of it. And so they are not like those who were baptized in the beginning nor like those slaves who were in Bahia nor like those of Guinea" (Grâ).²⁷

The same can be said of the children. The Father had placed their hopes of forming a renewed Christianity in them. When they arrived at adulthood, they were worse than their fathers. Anchieta, writing in 1560, pointed out that, despite their being taught Christian Doctrine and Christian customs in the schools when they were youngsters, the Indians, once they reached puberty and became more independent, exceeded their parents in corruption as they had once surpassed them before in goodness. Now as adults, they gave themselves over to drink and immorality with the same enthusiasm they had once practiced Christian virtue.²⁸ Many of the missionaries became very frustrated, and the saying current in Portugal, where rumors were rife about the situation in Brazil, was that going to Brazil was a waste of time.²⁹

The Tupí culture with its values, rites, and magical concept of life appeared like an impenetrable shield, an unassimilable mass that could not be penetrated. As a result, the frustrated Jesuits began to assess the Indian just as the colonist had — an attitude that at one time the missionaries had excoriated, namely, that the natives were inferior beings, much like beasts, and incapable of becoming Christians. The chroniclers and the colonists constantly described the Indians as "savage," "bestial" and "ferocious." Nothing sums up this attitude toward the Indians better than an aphorism which became current at this time along the Brazilian coast and is found in the authors of

²⁷ Cf. Luis Palacin, *Sociedade Colonial, 1549-1599*, (Goiânia, 1981) 112.

²⁸ Letter of Anchieta to Laynez, São Vicente, 1 June 1560, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome, 1958) 3:262.

²⁹ Letter of Rui Pereira to the priests and brothers in Portugal, Bahia, 15 September 1560, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 3:287.

this period, authors like Péro de Magalhães Gándavo,³⁰ Gabriel Soares de Sousa,³¹ Fernão Cardim,³² Ambrósio Brandão,³³ and Vicente do Salvador.³⁴ It goes like this: the Tupí language lacks three sounds, F, L, and R, representing the three things most necessary for human living: *Fe*, *Ley*, y *Rey*. Clearly approving this expression, António Blázquez, the chronicler of the Jesuits, summarizes it in words approximating those of the colonists: "Oh, beloved brothers in Christ, how many tears our eyes shed when we saw these creatures of God live almost as beasts, without king, law, or reason!"

In keeping with this fundamental attitude regarding the Indian, the chroniclers of the 16th century labeled the nudity of the Indians and their polygamy as lascivious, their rudimentary economy as stemming from laziness, their ritual cannibalism as extreme cruelty and indicative of a vengeful spirit. The colonists' vision regarding the Indian as a degraded human being became their justification for enslaving and annihilating the Indian. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, author of the most complete treatise on 16th century Brazil, wrote: "The Indians are not capable of freedom and deserve to be enslaved because of their crimes against the Portuguese, killing and eating hundreds and thousands of them, among them a bishop and many priests."³⁵ Blázquez³⁶ reported the reaction of the colonists to the intertribal wars among the Indians. He wrote that they enjoy seeing the Indians kill and eat each other; and, if we Jesuits reprimand the colonists for this, they respond that the natives should be allowed to continue killing each other since they are dogs.³⁷

³⁰ Péro de Magalhães Gándavo. B. c. 1540; d. 1576.

³¹ Gabriel Soares de Sousa. C. 1540-1592.

³² Fernão Cardim. B. Viena do Alentejo 1549; e. 1566 Évora; d. 1625 Bahia.

³³ Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão. C. 1555-1625.

³⁴ Frei Vicente do Salvador. 1564-c. 1638.

³⁵ "Capítulos of Gabriel Soares de Sousa against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus Who Reside in Brazil," *Anais de Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, 62 (1940):379.

³⁶ António Blázquez (Blasques). B. c. 1528, Alcántara, Spain; e. 19 September 1548, Coimbra, Portugal; d. 27 December 1606, Bahia, Brazil.

³⁷ Letter of Brother António Blázquez to Diego Laínez, Bahia, the end of April 1558, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 2:428.

Cannibal behavior on the part of the Indians proved that they were incapable of civilized living and of conversion to Christianity. And this posture on the part of the colonists is not strange when the priests and even the bishops of Bahia seemed to share it.

In 1552, the first bishop, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived in Salvador. The erection of the diocese was due in large part to the insistence of Nóbrega, the superior of the Jesuits, who petitioned the king for it, arguing that the presence of an bishop would greatly help to morally strengthen the colonial society.

In fact, these hopes of the Jesuits were not realized, and shortly thereafter Nóbrega was at odds with the bishop, provoked among other things by the attitude of the prelate towards the Indians and the demands he made relative to their conversion.

Don Pedro scarcely considered the Indians to be sheep of his flock and thought that the efforts made to convert them were in vain. Nóbrega wrote in a letter to the rector of the Jesuit colégio in Lisbon: "Read the little treatise which he [Don Pedro] sent his royal highness and you shall see by it how little prepared these barbarians are to be converted and how much more we ought to occupy ourselves to keep the whites from being perverted."³⁸

Besides, for the prelate the conversion ought only be permitted if the Indian integrated himself completely in Portuguese culture. Until the bishop's coming, the Jesuits, few and weak, tolerated as much as possible the native customs. More, they adapted themselves: they preached in the manner of the Indian chieftains, entering in the villages at daybreak, speaking deliberately and emphatically, passing very slowly in front of the huts. They adapted the music of the Indians to their religious songs, even tinged with cannibalistic reminiscences, using also their musical instruments. They did not suddenly demand that the Indians and the slaves be dressed. At funerals, they allowed

³⁸ Letter of D. Pedro Fernandes to the Rector of the Colégio de Santa Antão de Lisboa, Salvador, Bahia, 6 October 1553, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 1:12.

the chorus of the Indians along with the Gregorian chant of the Church. They put up gladly all the ceremonies of welcome and farewell as the guests of the tribe.

All of this shocked profoundly the bishop who severely questioned Nóbrega: "I told him that we did not come here to make the pagans Christians but to accustom the pagans to being Christians, which is not possible if the old man with his acts is not destroyed and if the new *qui secundum Deum creatus est* is not put on."³⁹

How the bishop understood this putting off of the old man and putting on of the new is accurately reflected in a letter which he wrote to Simão Rodrigues, superior of the Jesuits in Portugal and one of Ignatius' companions when the Society was founded. He said that he has commanded the Portuguese who married mamelucas to teach these women to speak Portuguese "because as long as they did not speak it they will remain pagans in their customs."⁴⁰

To avoid confrontations with the bishop, Nóbrega left Bahia and established himself in the South, in the captaincy of São Vicente.

At the same time the Jesuits were insisting on what was another sore point and cause of continual friction: the obligation of the colonists to free the slaves obtained in a *salteio*. Non-compliance, the colonists were told, meant the denial of the sacraments. The Jesuits implored the governor to enforce the already established law in this matter.

This was a point that they continued to maintain with firmness because they judged it a matter of justice. They thought it was indispensable if they were to attempt conversions. But this constancy in the defense of the Indians' liberty was without doubt the biggest bone of contention in the Brazilian mission.

In 1553, Nóbrega wrote from São Vicente: "Most of the men of this area and principally of this captaincy have Indians as forced laborers who demand their liberty. Although the Indians do not know the law, they come to us as fathers and

³⁹ Letter of D. Pedro Fernandes to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia 15 July, 1552 in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 1:360.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

protectors, taking sanctuary in the Church. But, as we have learned through sad experience not to create scandals nor to be pelted with stones, we are unable to help them. We do not even dare to preach about it. As a result, through lack of justice they remain captives, their masters remain in mortal sin, and we lose authority in the entire pagan world no matter what they hoped.”⁴¹

With the passing of years and the incessant repetition of the same cases and occasions, it was very difficult to maintain the office of protector of the Indians — against almost all of the inhabitants, rich and poor, those in authority and even among the clergy. For the Jesuits in Brazil, this was the true cross.

In 1564, Blázquez wrote to Portugal pondering the difficulties which the new missionaries ought to be prepared to confront. “I dare to say this as truthfully as I can, [the first fathers] assumed the greatest labors and suffered much hunger and nudity, much coldness and many contradictions on the part of those whom self-interest led them to Brazil... Oh, if you but knew how harsh has been the cross of Brazil, how perplexing the persecutions, how senseless the quarrels which at times befell us! It seemed to these peoples that the cause of all their difficulties was us!”⁴²

Under the pressure of these two impossible problems, namely living in harmony with the colonists and, at the same time, endeavoring to convert the Indians, the missionaries began to grow highly impatient with the problem of converting the native, even going so far, in their desperation, to propose force as a solution to their dilemma. In the letters of Anchieta and Nóbrega, one sees their attempts at justifying such a procedure. In 1555, for instance, Anchieta, so disappointed with the conduct of Tibirica, the Christian Indian leader of São Paulo, who had taken part in the ritual murder of an adversary, wrote in the following vein: “One loses all hope of ever converting these Indians unless a large number of God-fearing Christians come to these lands and enslave them, obliging them to walk

⁴¹ Letter to Manuel de Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, São Vicente, 10 March 1553, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 1:455.

⁴² Letter of Antônio Blázquez to Diego Mirón, Bahia, 13 September 1564, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 4:91.

beneath the banner of Christ.”⁴³ Nóbrega, in his *Dialogue on the Faith*, written between 1556-1557, deals in dialogue form with the natives’ capacity or lack thereof for conversion. He relates that some of the missionaries felt that their work was in vain so long as the Indians were no longer being enslaved and forced to accept baptism out of fear;⁴⁴ and in answer to the question about what advantages there would be in making the natives Christian by force even though in secret they continued to observe their pagan customs, the missionaries responded that little benefit would accrue to those Indians who had been baptized out of fear but that there was always the possibility that their children and grandchildren would become genuine Christians, and this answer seemed to make sense.⁴⁵

In 1558, the same Nóbrega wrote categorically that the Indians are beyond the influence of good and are only moved through fear and subjection, as we know full well; and, for that reason, he wrote to the King: if Your Highness desires to see them converted to the Faith, order their enslavement and insist that Christian colonists populate the back country. Let them be assigned the service of the Indians whom they capture, as is the custom when new lands are occupied. Nóbrega went on to say that he did not understand how the Portuguese, so feared and obeyed compared to other nations, can tolerate being virtually subjected to the world’s most vile and pitiful pagans.⁴⁶ He then lists six conditions that must be met by the Indians before they are apt subjects for conversion:

1. They must no longer to eat human flesh or without the permission of the governor wage war.
2. They must agree to live with only one wife.

⁴³ Letter of Anchieta to Ignatius Loyola, São Vicente, end of March 1555, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* (Rome, 1957) 2:191, 207.

⁴⁴ Nóbrega, “Diálogo sobre a Conversão do Gentio”, Bahia, 1556-1557, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 2:328.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Letter of Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres, Bahia, 8 May 1558, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 2:448-449. The same reasons were used with John III, cf. letters of Nóbrega to Torres, Bahia, 5 July 1559, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 3:93; and of Anchieta to Laynez, São Vicente, 1 June 1560, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 3:255.

3. They should agree to being visited after becoming Christians.
4. They must cease all further traffic with sorcerers.
5. They must act justly towards each other and towards fellow Christians.
6. They must live in peace, and they should be informed that land would be given them and that Jesuit missionaries would be brought in to catechize them.⁴⁷

The object was not to convert them by the sword but to create an ambience by instituting the process known as “detrribalization,” that is, the severing of the social and ideological ties that linked the Indian to tribal life. This practice was put into effect by Mem de Sá, Brazil’s third governor general, (1557-1572).

From the very beginning of his term in office, Mem de Sá exerted every effort to establish Portuguese dominion over the Indians. His plan of action was not to avoid confrontation but to foment it, as he did in Bahia, Ilhéus, Espíritu Santo, and Rio de Janeiro. He did not engage in pitched battles but waged destructive and punitive war. In describing to the king the war he fought against the Indians of Paraguacú, he wrote that he had destroyed over 130 of their wretched villages and then sailed away.⁴⁸ Once he established dominion over the Indians, he put Nóbrega’s sixth point into effect, namely, the settling of the Indians in village mission settlements.

The village mission settlements of Bahia

It was a bright hour in which the hopes of the missionaries seemed to be realized far beyond all their expectations. Settling the Indians in mission villages was not a new idea. The *Regimiento* of Tomé de Souza recommended this practice as a means of separating the catechumens and the converts to the

⁴⁷ Cf. *Monumenta Brasiliae* 3:476.

⁴⁸ For information about Mem de Sá and the war in Paraguay, see Herbert Ewaldo Wetzell, *Mem de Sá, terceiro Governador Geral (1557-1572)*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), 61ff.

Faith from the pagan Indians with a view to creating a more favorable environment for Christian living. Experience also showed that this method of procedure was even more necessary with respect to the Portuguese whose irresistible tendency was to enslave the Indians and inflict all types of punishment on them. The bad example the colonists gave, so in contrast to the preaching of the missionaries, was, in fact, one of the biggest obstacles to the conversion of the Indians. On the other hand, the Jesuits fully realized, from the very beginning, that the Indian way of life made impossible their efforts at evangelization. Living by fishing and hunting and a very rudimentary agriculture, they were, in reality, semi-nomads, changing their place of living every few years in search of new areas for food. Such a way of life demanded a constant breaking up and moving on that was inimical to the growth of the village and impeded the catechizing activities of the missionaries. As a result, the Jesuits realized that their work of converting the Indians was only possible through settling them in large permanent settlements, even though this meant changing the Indians from hunters and gatherers to farmers, a plan that would bring radical change into their lives.

The missionaries, who had been mulling over these ideas for years, suddenly were offered an occasion to put their plan into action with the victory of Governor Mem de Sá over the Indians, a victory which left the natives totally at the mercy of the governor to the extent that they were willing to settle into permanent villages. In 1557, the first permanent Indian village, the village of São Paulo, with its resident missionary, was founded in Bahia, housing 250 Indians from four different locations. Although the Indian chiefs continued to exercise a limited authority, supreme control was in the hands of the missionary.

During the lifetime of these villages until their extinction or transformation under Pombal, the governing of the villages by the missionaries was a most controversial issue among the colonists, governmental authorities, and Jesuits superiors. Other solutions were tried, like lay directors under salary, but they were never successful, and the missionaries resumed their old posts each time. The growth of these villages was spectacular and seemed to bring to fruition all the ambitions of the missionaries as the villages grew and conversions increased. Two years after the setting up of the village system, Bahia had three

villages: São Paulo, São João, and Espírito Santo, the last of which was made up of seven pueblos. By 1560, four villages existed with a total of seven thousand Indians. By 1562, there were eleven villages in the district of Salvador, ten of which had resident missionaries. The fruits of conversion were immediate, but it was not so much the continuous catechesis and assistance at religious services that influenced the Indians to embrace the Faith as the feeling of emptiness brought about by "detribalization."

There can be no doubt that these conversions resulted in no small measure from moral pressure. The Jesuits realized this but did not find it repugnant. At a time in which the entire pedagogical process was accompanied by so much persuasive force, the Jesuits would have considered it a sin of omission on their part if they had not used all means to effect the conversion of the Indians. There is not the slightest hint of reproach in a letter of Rui Pereira⁴⁹ who takes for granted the part that fear and coercion played in the conversion of an Indian village. In 1567 conversions were increasing in the villages. He wrote: "It was a great help that the governor realized how essential fear was in producing results. The governor ordered that in every village an Indian should be appointed whose job it was to place in the pillory all those who, in the judgement of the missionaries, were endeavoring to impede conversions. The Indians have such fear of the pillory that, next to God, it was the reason why the natives walk the paths we indicate."⁵⁰ Hence, it was evident that the moral coercion which impels the Indians to conversion, superficial though it be, must stem, much less from any material advantages, than from the spiritual vacuum produced in their minds when they see their culture destroyed, their gurus helpless, and the missionaries, personifying the new religion, held in honor by the authorities. Unlike prior times, there was a mass movement towards Christianity, and the missionaries reigned in this movement with total tranquility, baptized sparingly in order to increase the prestige of the sacrament, and even put it off in some cases until the

⁴⁹ Rui Pereira. B. 1533. Vila Real de Trás-os-Montes; e. 23 March 1550.

⁵⁰ *Monumenta Brasiliae* 3:292.

moment of death. Confident of their position of dominance, they opened the gates a bit and began to baptize en masse. Anchieta sang of this moment of the setting up of these Indian villages in the inspired verses of his long epic poem. "Concerning the deeds of Men de Sá." He sings first of the lengthy labors of the Jesuits in this land so sadly barren, preaching the triumph of Christ to the Indians; and then, of a sudden, as the cold winter recedes and the friendly breezes begin to blow, there is the radiant spring of souls and conversion.⁵¹

The village settlements and the freedom of the Indians

The high hopes which were engendered with the establishment of the first settlements were not realized. The enthusiasm that was generated hid the real intrinsic and extrinsic difficulties that made the system of settlements in Brazil so problematic. The decline of the settlements was as rapid as their initial success had been a matter of rejoicing. In 1563, those in Bahia had been reduced to five. In 1585, Jesuits had only three churches in Bahia ministering to 1500 Indians, a considerably reduced number from the fourteen churches originally established with 40,000 Indians.

What were the causes of this violent change? The causes began to manifest themselves from the very beginning, and the founders of the settlements clearly perceived them. When Inácio Azevedo⁵² arrived in Brazil as visitor — that is, as special delegate of the Jesuit superior general in Rome sent to look into a possible reorganization of the Brazilian province — the most serious problem he faced was that of the Indian settlements. Three months after his arrival, he informed the superior general, Francis Borgia⁵³: There are five settlements around the city of Salvador some three, four, five, six, nine leagues away. In each one of these, the two or three priests who live there have

⁵¹ Joseph de Anchieta, *De Gestis Mem de Sá*, the original accompanied by a vernacular translation by Armando Cardoso, S.J., (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), 1285-1330.

⁵² Inácio Azevedo. B. 1526; d. 1570.

⁵³ Francis Borgia. B. 1510; d. 1572.

the job of gathering the Indians from various places to catechize them and make them Christian. This method presents certain difficulties because the Indians feel constrained and do not like being herded together. What is more, they are incapable of becoming civilized and making progress. Even with the old Christians, that is, the creoles and the Brazilians, the Jesuits are in constant discord because of the colonists' efforts to enslave the Indians for purpose of labor, and many of the Indians are willing to be enslaved rather than remain in the settlements. Since there are few officers of the law and the city is far away, there is no one to defend the natives but the Jesuits who catechize them. Efforts have been made to place some of the Old Christians among them as captains, but problems arise with them as with the others. In conclusion, Azevedo presents the opinions of Luiz (Luis) da Grau,⁵⁴ the provincial, and of the other priests consulted on this matter, who feel that, despite the serious problems that exist, there is no alternative but to go along with the system as it exists; for, given the circumstances, there is no other way of helping the Indians.⁵⁵

As is evident, a careful analysis pinpoints the problems connected with the gathering of the Indians into villages. Some of these problems proceeded from a way of life that by its very nature the Indian found intolerable, namely, the sedentary work, the routine of it all, and the anonymity of belonging to large groups; others resulted from the opposition of the colonists who were "hell bent," so to speak, on enslaving the Indians, thus bringing the colonists into continuous conflict with the Jesuit missionaries. The fact remains, however, that the Indian village settlements were the sole means of avoiding the enslavement of the Indians and their disappearance. This became quite evident during the governorship of Mem de Sá, despite his energetic efforts and sincere desire to treat the Indians justly. In 1562, the governor, under pressure from the colonists, condemned the Caeté tribes to slavery for having killed and eaten a bishop. This sentence of condemnation unleashed a phrenetic hunt for

⁵⁴ Luiz da Grau. B. c. 1523, Lisbon, Portugal; e. 20 June 1543, Lisbon; d. 16 November 1609, Colégio de Olinda.

⁵⁵ Letter of Inácio de Azevedo to Francis Borgia, Bahia, 19 November 1566, in *Monumenta Brasiliae* 4:370.

slaves; and, although the governor had expressly excluded the Indians living in the Jesuit village settlements from the sentence of slavery at the request of the Jesuit provincial, this exception and the limiting of slave hunts to the Caeté was like trying to hold back a torrent of water with a paper dike. Caeté or not Caeté, pagan or Christian, settlement or non-settlement Indians, the Indians were hunted down unceasingly, untiringly, and mercilessly. Just to touch one was enough to mark him as a slave, no further questions being asked. The Indian feared to leave his home with the result that many were left to die from hunger; others fled into the forest. The "Discourse on the Aldeas," a Jesuit document that resulted from the polemic on the freedom of the Indian, states that of the 12,000 Indians living in the Indian village settlements barely a thousand remained. The others had been captured or had fled in great fear.⁵⁶ When the governor realized what a disaster he had unleashed, he revoked the sentence against the Caeté but to no avail; for the slave hunters, engrossed in their assault on the Indians, induced the Indians to sell slaves among themselves, pretending they were all Caeté.⁵⁷

With the disappearance of the Indians from the governmental district of Bahia, the problem now centered on the preservation from slavery of the natives living further away. Luiz de Brito e Almeida (Governor 1572-1575), together with a military detachment, visited the region of Sergipe, north of Bahia, where the Jesuits were in the initial stages of establishing an Indian village. The governor's arrival with troops was the equivalent of a declaration of war. The Indians rose in rebellion, and not only did the work of catechizing the natives collapse in ruins but widespread enslavement followed.

Gabriel Soares accused the Jesuits of harassing the governor in the court with "cruel charges" and "causing division in the land because the men who favored the fathers were enemies of the governor and those who favored him were their enemies." The Jesuits responded: "At least this difference was no-

⁵⁶ Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, Bras. 15, f. 2r.

⁵⁷ Chapters of Gabriel Soares de Sousa, op. cit. *Informações 12 and 13*, 356-357. Cf. Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1945) 5:295.

ticed; the said governor opened the land of the Indians to exploitation by all, each one in his own way, in addition to the many boatloads of Indians which were sold throughout the captaincies."

With the disappearance of the Indian tribes who lived nearby, the slave hunters began moving into the more remote regions. Expeditions set out from Salvador and from other places along the coast to hunt down Indians who lived a hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred leagues out in the interior. There can be no doubt that the sole method of preserving and acculturating the Indians were the Indian village settlement; but their true value and effectiveness will never be properly measured, for the life of those villages close to populated areas was ephemeral and in constant agitation.

The Indian villages of Bahia, which were virtually annihilated through the slave hunts for the Caeté Indians, suffered definitive destruction with the progressive taking over of their lands by the colonists; and nothing demonstrates the inevitability of annihilation better than the sad fate of the three Indian villages of São Paulo, Espírito Santo, and Santo Antônio. Because of their location along the seashore, colonists, traveling through this territory enroute to Ilhéus, used the opportunity "to rob the Indians blind," as we would say. In fact, the situation became so desperate that the inhabitants of the villages, unable to tolerate the situation any longer, took to flight, the missionaries unable to do a thing to stop them.⁵⁸ In the other villages, the agony was slower; but neither royal edicts, the protection of the governor, the royal appointment of a procurator of the Indians, nor the appeals of the missionaries were able to halt the inevitable despoliation of the Indians of their fertile lands that were close to the city. Thus, the process of the discourse of (the settling of the Indians in) the villages: "As the number of Portuguese increased by many people of the kingdom coming, they began to occupy the lands of the Indians. Diogo de Zorrilha, procurator of the Indians in 1571, appalled at the taking over of the lands of the Indians in the Indian villages of Espírito Santo, São João y São Tiago, Santo Antônio

⁵⁸Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, Bras. 15, f. 13v.

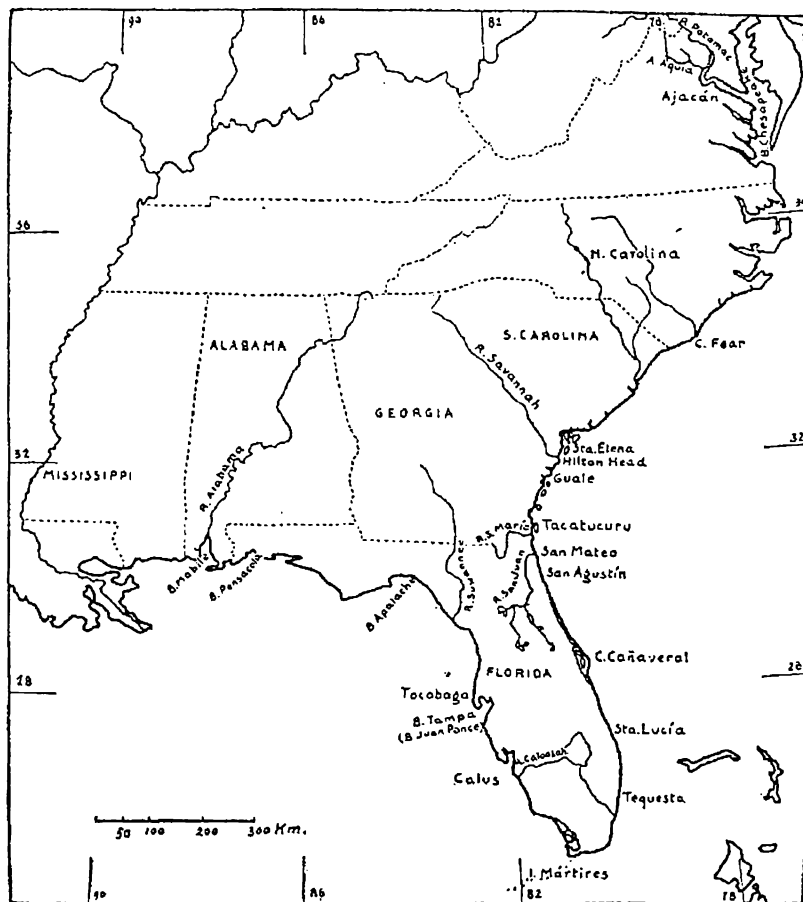
and other areas by the increasing number of Portuguese settlers, implored the governor to issue a proclamation forbidding this wide-scale despoliation. The governor complied, imposing punishments and fines on the offenders; but, since the Indians were poor and had no one to defend them except the Jesuit missionaries, the governor's proclamation had no effect with the result that the Indians lost their lands and distanced themselves more and more from the colonists."⁵⁹

These tragic developments went far in undermining any possibility of a successful development of Indian settlements; but it is obvious that, even under more favorable and peaceful conditions, the internal difficulties in the process of acculturation would have militated against the full development of the objective sought for by the missionaries.

Nonetheless, the Indian village settlements can justly be considered one of the most impressive religious and humane utopias of the century. The missionaries felt that they were involved in the creation of a new Christianity and a new humanity. As one of the missionaries wrote: "The objective of the missions consisted in changing the Indians from barbarians to men and the men into Christians and the Christians into men persevering in the faith. This was the aim of the missionaries who lived among the Indians, serving them as priest, father, doctor, infirmarian, and maestro, teaching them, who formerly hunted in the forest and gathered fruit, to plow and to sow."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., f. 4.

⁶⁰ Cf. Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1945) 5:295.



Map 5

FLORIDA AND THE 'NEW' MISSIOLOGY OF THE 1560S

CHARLES EDWARDS O'NEILL, S.J.

During the half century that followed the Columbus expeditions, the Spanish Catholic mind wrestled with the question whether a Christian was permitted to use force or, indeed, obliged to use force, when it was needed to bring "new" peoples to the gospel. The earliest centuries of Church history had taught that the individual person had to ask freely for baptism; hence no one in sixteenth-century Spain was proposing the violent baptism of individual Amerindians. The question was rather whether rulers and groups in the New World could oppose evangelization, and more basically the question was asked whether pagan rulers and regimes were legitimate. Regardless of ideas, the political and military power of Spain was so much more highly developed than its counterparts in America that the conquest went ahead. Spain's *conquista* of the regions opened by the Columbian voyages would have taken place whether or not evangelization had existed. Yet, because of Christian faith, leaders and thinkers, and the military officers themselves, examined their collective conscience over the justice of their cause. They seriously asked serious questions. Were the pagan rulers and peoples across the ocean sea entitled to their power, their regime and their structures even if they rejected the gospel? If so, what conclusions had to be drawn?¹

The current of thought that was called Augustinian responded negatively; for, according to its proponents, only grace provided the basis for holding territory and ruling over others. The current of thought that was called Thomistic held, on the contrary, that human nature was universal and that therefore, by the law of nature, certain ethical obligations, like respect for another person's holding of property and for pagan peoples' political regimes, had to be observed universally.

¹ The *Miscellanea Comillas* devoted its 1988 volume to these ethical questions: Vol. 48, enero-diciembre, 607.

Both schools of thought had intelligent exponents. Augustinian-minded Juan López de Palacios Rubios (16th century), who published his opus in 1514, held that pagan rulers had to submit to the king of Spain when summoned to do so, for the king had rights given him by the pope. Palacios Rubios developed the summons known as the *requerimiento*, wherein the pagan ruler was invited to submit... or else. Yet even the *requerimiento* theoretically allowed freedom to individuals and groups not to accept the Christian faith.

Regarding this *requerimiento*, Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566) said he knew not whether to laugh or to cry. His fellow Dominicans, professors of theology in the University of Salamanca, were strong defenders of the Indians' rights based upon natural law.² Their line of argument was Thomistic.

The debate was so heated and the consequences were so far-reaching that the Council of the Indies urged the king to call a conference of theologians and jurists. The sessions were held in 1550 but did not settle the issue once and for all. In America, priests were asking whether they should refuse to give sacramental absolution to *encomenderos*; a Salamanca professor counseled his students — some of whom went out to the overseas missions — to avoid hearing the confessions of those who held estates in the Indies.³ In the Florida mission of the 1560s — treated in this article — both the commandant and the missionaries showed that they were attentive to the ethical debates of the previous decades, and they manifested their determination that entry and evangelization should proceed without force.

Let it be noted that during the first half century of Spanish evangelization of America only four religious orders were involved. The royal patronato, granted by the pope to the king of Spain, admitted these four orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Mercedarians and Augustinians. Some Carmelites and Hieronymites [Jeromites] also participated in the missionary enterprise. Hence, the Society of Jesus, which is the topic of

² Gonzalo Higuera, "La Conquista de América, el derecho internacional, y los derechos humanos, *Miscellanea Comillas* 46 (1988):17-41.

³ Carlos Baciero, "La ética en la conquista de América y los primeros jesuitas del Perú," *Miscellanea Comillas* 46 (1988):136.

this symposium, and which was founded only in 1540, was not present in America during the first half century of the Spanish entry into the New World. In the Portuguese colony of Brazil, on the other hand, King John III obtained Jesuit missionaries as early as 1549, a decade and a half before the Spanish Jesuit mission now presented here.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574), after briefly treating with Dominicans, was determined to have for his Florida enterprise missionaries who were members of the young organization known as the Society of Jesus. On March 20, 1565, he obtained permission from King Philip II for the entry of the new order into America. In the midst of his planning, though, he learned that the Jesuit superior, General Diego Laínez (b. 1512) had died on 19 January 1565. Hence, the Society of Jesus was awaiting the convening of the general congregation (chapter) that would elect his successor; months would elapse before the election of the new general superior. Menéndez, however, could brook no delay; so he wrote to the vicar general who was governing the Society *ad interim*. The vicar general was Francisco de Borja/Borgia (1510-1572), great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI and also of King Ferdinand; subsequently, on 2 July 1565, he was elected superior general. Menéndez in his March 1565 appeal to Vicar General Borgia described Florida in terms of the geographical knowledge then current: Florida was a region to the north of New Spain and the Caribbean Sea; it extended indefinitely north and west — to near China [it was thought], to which one would be able to travel by land or by sea. Menéndez reported that the local Spanish provincial had told him the Society would have to await the election of the new superior general, but Menéndez told Borgia he wanted Jesuits named immediately so that they could accompany him when he sailed in May.⁴

⁴ Menéndez de Avilés to Borgia, (late) March 1565, in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572)*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, (Rome, 1946), 1-2. Hereafter in this article, the volume, sixty-ninth in the series of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, is cited as *MHSI* 69. An English translation of many pertinent documents is found in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," *Historical Records and Studies*, 25 (1935):59-148.

Borgia decided affirmatively and acted promptly, but, by the time his instructions reached Spain, Menéndez had sailed. The Jesuits in Spain and the superior general in Rome were not sorry that they had missed the boat. Menéndez was on his way to oust the French post recently set up in Florida, which Spain claimed as exclusively her own.⁵ In the event, it was all to the good that no Jesuit was present when Menéndez won his victory over the French. What he did and said became an object of controversy that does not enter the confines of this article, but the picture we will have here of Menéndez is quite different from the portrait painted by his enemies. Suffice it to say that the Jesuits were fortunate in having missed the boat!

Borgia corresponded with Spanish superiors for the choosing of the missionaries-to-be. Finally on 28 June 1566 three Jesuits sailed for Florida: Pedro Martínez (1523-1566), Juan Rogel (1528-1618) and Brother Francisco Villareal (1530-1600). Even though Florida did not have *conquistadores* and *encomenderos*, Rogel, thinking of Peru which was the alternative assignment under consideration for him, had already asked the superior general for directives in regard to pertinent cases of conscience. Borgia had responded that Rogel would in due time be given instructions on how to proceed with them.⁶

Martínez, who accompanied a group of Flemish sailors in search of water, met death at native hands soon after setting foot on the New World's shores. Menéndez mourned him and begged the Jesuit provincial in Spain to send others in his stead lest the Indians charge Menéndez with violating his promise to bring them missionaries. Menéndez saw himself as a peace-maker among mutually hostile Indian tribes: as a diplomat-officer-colonizer, he judged that "six religious will do in a month what many thousands of soldiers would need many years to do." Peace, in the mind of Menéndez, would come through the

⁵ Borgia to Menéndez de Avilés, 12 May 1565, *MHSI* 69:6-8. Borgia to Gonzalo González, 12 May 1565, *MHSI* 69:8-10. Diego Avellaneda to Borgia, 29 June 1565, *MHSI* 69:13-17. Juan Polanco to Avellaneda, 9 Oct. 1565, *MHSI* 69:17-18.

⁶ Diego Carrillo to Borgia, 30 January 1566, *MHSI* 69:31-32. Borgia to González, 15 April 1566, *MHSI* 69:46. Avellaneda to Borgia, 4 July 1566, *MHSI* 69:84-86.

gospel sooner than through force arriving from the outside; the gospel, moreover, could not be planted there with soldiers only.⁷ He thought in terms of serenity, symbiosis and suzerainty.

Rogel, from Cuba, confirmed for his confreres in Spain the fact that Menéndez was considered a soldier of peace. Indians reported that Menéndez did not let the soldiers under his command harm or rob the natives.⁸ Some Jesuits in Spain doubted, though, that Florida was ready for peaceful evangelization. The violent death of Martínez encouraged their doubts. In this view the missionaries should wait until the region was pacified. It was not the task of the missionaries to subdue hostile tribes, it was their mission to evangelize, and it was a lost cause to go prematurely to an area in violent turmoil. In the eyes of some Jesuits, Menéndez was a *conquistador*, just like the others, and the entire category was a problem in Peru.⁹

The Society of Jesus sent missionaries to Peru right after sending the first contingent to Florida. The same superiors in Spain who were discussing Florida simultaneously reflected on the questions arriving from Peru. Among them, as mentioned above, was how to deal in confession with a *conquistador* or *encomendero*. Bartolomé Bustamante (1501-1570), provincial of Andalusia, was upset over the disquiet in the colonial Church of Peru, and he felt that some moralists were going too far. If, he said, one held all *conquistadores* responsible all together for all the harm that had been done to their victims and required restitution, then one would conclude that all were obliged to give up all they held. (To whom, it was not clear.) Yet such a moral conclusion as this was simply unrealistic. Bustamante favored having a royal commission study the question and, with the approval of the pope, prepare a settlement of the case. Meanwhile, his practical advice to the Jesuits who went to Peru was to minister to the many others who needed them and steer clear of the *conquistadores*; then, if any one challenged them on

⁷ Menéndez to Avellaneda, 15 October 1566, *MHSI* 69:89-99.

⁸ Rogel to Avellaneda, November 1566-30 January 1567, *MHSI* 69:125.

⁹ González to Borgia, 18 April 1567, *MHSI* 69:166. Bartolomé Bustamante to Borgia, 31 May 1567, *MHSI* 69:168-170. Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo to Borgia, 26 June 1567 and 14 July 1567, *MHSI* 69:182-183, 189-191.

this policy, let them say that the veteran missionary orders in the region were in disagreement, and hence the Jesuits, newly arrived, would need more experience before they could hear confessions of *conquistadores* and *encomenderos*.¹⁰

The practical problem of how to deal with the real situation in Peru did not undermine the Society's official position which disapproved of the *conquistadores*' profiteering. Juan Bautista Segura (d. 6 February 1571), who was to lay down his life in the northern Florida mission, at first seemed headed for Peru. His commission from Rome encouraged him to be ready to shed his blood in America where so many had shed the blood of others; where others had gone seeking the gold of the earth, let him bring the gold of charity. Where conquerors had gone, let him make a new *entrada* to conquer souls by preaching Christ to them.¹¹ The point of this missiology was that the missionaries should avoid doing what the *conquistadores* had done, and the instruction was valid whether Segura was to go to South or to North America.

In the latter half of 1567, Menéndez was in Spain to take care of the needs of his colony. He sought to inspire Spanish Jesuits with the enthusiasm he felt for Florida. He told his old friend, Father Provincial Diego Avellaneda (b. 1523-1598), of the great opportunities for the gospel in this newly opened region. The Indians, he said, were convinced already that Christians go to heaven, and therefore they wanted to become Christians. They were abandoning their idols and were reverencing the cross; they needed missionaries. Learning that Segura had finally been assigned to Florida, Menéndez told Avellaneda of his happiness because the vast, well-populated land needed missionaries. Menéndez acknowledged the limitations of military presence for obtaining the submission of these people to the king of Spain: far preferable was their conversion to Christianity. For Menéndez, Florida was "a good and holy enterprise."¹² The *adelantado* lost no occasion for expressing his

¹⁰ Bustamante to Borgia, 31 May 1567, *MHSI* 69:169-170. Baciero, "La ética...". *Miscellanea Comillas* 46 (1988):139-140.

¹¹ Dionisio Vázquez to Juan Segura, 4 June 1567, *MHSI* 69:171-173.

¹² Menéndez to Avellaneda, 1 August 1567, *MHSI* 69:192-192. Menéndez to Segura, 11 September 1567, *MHSI* 69:200-203.

appreciation of peaceful evangelization over violent conquest.

In Rome, this missiology had come to the attention of the papal curia of Pius V, who in 1566 praised Florida as a model in the instructions given to Archbishop Giovanni Gianbattista Castagna (1521-1590), papal nuncio in Spain, concerning evangelization of the Indians. The pope expressed concern over the bad example given by some, even officials of the king, to the non-Christians and neophytes. Then, excluding violence except in necessity and cruelty always, "His Holiness was pleased," the instructions stated, "with the method which he heard was practiced in Florida for the spreading of the Gospel, and he desire[d] that elsewhere one [should] proceed in a similar manner."¹³ Thus the Florida missiology, which demanded non-violent evangelization, received papal endorsement.

A challenging opportunity came to Menéndez in December 1567; in Seville he met with the Jesuits planning to go to Florida and, presumably, with other members of the community at the Society's college in Seville. He welcomed the chance to dispel from their minds some of the calumnies against Florida. The king and he were convinced of the cause, he explained, even though royal counsellors were not. The *adelantado* described his way of entering a new area: he proclaimed to the local population that there was one God, that believers went to heaven and idolators to hell; he identified himself as one sent by pope and king; then he invited his hearers to submission.

At this point we can imagine the heightened tension in his meeting with the Jesuits because he had reached the crucial moment that would follow the *requerimiento* or its equivalent. What, his hearers in Seville wanted to know, was his policy if the Indians refused?

Menéndez continued: If the local population refused political submission, he moved on. Thus he declared that he did not force submission. If the Indians freely chose to submit, then he provided instruction in Christian Doctrine and sang prayers before a cross. If the Jesuits would only come and provide basic Christian Doctrine, he pledged that on his part he

¹³ Josef Metzler, ed., *America Pontificia Primi Saeculi Evangelizationis 1493-1592* (Vatican City, 1991), 2:743.

would preserve discipline and therefore tranquility. Together the *adelantado* and the missionaries would preserve harmony.¹⁴

His hearers could only have been pleased, indeed enthusiastic. The officer of the king presented himself as a messenger of peace. Aware of the half century of theological discussions, he opted against the use of force which according to some was justified if the *requerimiento* was rejected. Menéndez embraced the missiology which wanted no part of violent imposition of the gospel. He assured the superior general of the Jesuits that a *cacique* could remain in friendly contact with the Spanish even if the *cacique* and his people chose not to become Christians. In Menéndez's own words: "With the soldiers I will open the door for the missionaries, making friends with the *caciques*, without doing them any harm, so that they [the missionaries] may enter preaching the gospel, and those who wish to be Christians, let them be, and those who wish not to be, let them remain in our friendship. And all will be done as [Jesus] our Lord commands."¹⁵ This was a significant policy, because in the previously prevailing mentality it was generally understood that the acceptance of Christianity was a condition for a tribe's good relationship with the Spanish overlord... who came in the name of "our Lord."

In a meeting with Bartolomé Bustamante, Borgia's visitor for Spanish Jesuit provinces, Menéndez expressly distanced himself from the positions of earlier captains of the Indies. By the mercy of God, he said, he had avoided violence; he had entered Florida at peace with the Indians who were at war among themselves. He had awakened in them a desire for the gospel. A vast region was subdued and tranquil. Menéndez convinced Bustamante that he wanted the evangelization to be carried out "not by any violence but apostolically, as was done by the apostles in the primitive Church by truthful persuasion alone."¹⁶

Menéndez, who had been promoted by the king to be governor of Cuba, proposed that the Jesuits open a school in

¹⁴ Relatio anonyma de visitatione quam Petrus Menendez Hispali missionariis Floridae fecit, 16 December 1567, *MHSI* 69:213-218.

¹⁵ Menéndez to Borgia, 18 January 1568, *MHSI* 69:231.

¹⁶ Bustamante to Borgia, 15 January 1568, *MHSI* 69:226.

Havana, there to receive the sons of Florida chieftains, who would return to Christianize their tribes. Each one would be the equivalent of an army. Menéndez thought that Bustamante — even though he was in his late sixties — would make a good rector for the proposed Havana school.¹⁷ Here appears another aspect of the Florida-style missiology, for Menéndez wanted to proceed by way of education instead of coercion.

Bustamante, despite his age, volunteered for the Havana school that would benefit Florida. He felt that his “nothing” in Spain would count for “something” in Cuba. Bustamante was inspired by the idea of a purely evangelical conquest, with no wars, no gold, no silver. Borgia, however, judged that Bustamante was too old to set out for service in America. Nevertheless the superior general of the Jesuits was convinced of the doctrine favored by Menéndez. Thus Borgia wrote to the *adelantado* in March of 1568: “You could have used the sword of steel; instead you preferred to unsheathe the sword of the divine word.”¹⁸

In 1570, Juan Rogel, the Florida Jesuit missionary already mentioned above, proposed, apparently for the first time, the idea later developed in the *reducciones*. He complained to Menéndez that the Indians’ fragmentedly nomadic ways, which they followed both because of habit and because of the rapid exhaustion of food-crop soil, made evangelization almost impossible. Even in proposing that the native population be led to develop sedentary life in villages, Rogel adhered to the Florida doctrine of non-violence. The proposed *reducciones* should be created by persuasion of minds, not by force of arms.¹⁹

In conclusion, one can see, the *adelantado* of Florida had too rosy a view of the land he was colonizing, but, as a promoter, Menéndez carried on an effective campaign and answered all detractors. The Jesuits accepted his missiology at face value,

¹⁷ Bustamante to Borgia, 15 January 1568, *MHSI* 69:226. Menéndez to Borgia, 18 January 1568, *MHSI* 69:231-233.

¹⁸ Bustamante to Borgia, 17 Feb. 1568, *MHSI* 69:256-262. Borgia to Bustamante, 7 March 1568, *MHSI* 69:263-264. Borgia to Menéndez, 7 March 1568, *MHSI* 69:264-266.

¹⁹ Rogel to Menéndez, 9 Dec. 1570, *MHSI* 69:476.

for it corresponded with their moral concerns. The pope himself commended the Florida method. A “new” missiology was being taught and practiced in full conformity with the Salamanca teaching on human rights. To bring out this point is the purpose of this paper. Neither Menéndez nor the Florida Jesuits were book-publishing theologians — and hence do not appear in essays on sixteenth-century discussions²⁰ — but they were thinkers and doers who applied their mission theology with remarkable consistency to the part of the “new world” they cultivated.

The subsequent history of the Florida Jesuit mission is not within the scope of this article; it has been told elsewhere.²¹ After several years of frustrating missionary efforts and after several martyrs had laid down their lives, Father General Borgia, who had for years heard that Florida was unpromising in comparison with the rest of Spanish America, closed the mission, much to Menéndez’s regret, and transferred the survivors. In sum, the Florida mission of the Jesuits came to an end, but the Florida missiology of Menéndez and the Jesuits became the prevailing doctrine.

²⁰ For published authors of the period, see Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, “Teología académica y teología profética (siglo XVI),” *Scripta Theologica* 21 (1989):483-510.

²¹ For example, Félix Zubillaga, *La Florida. La misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización española* (Rome, 1941).

**UPHEAVAL AND RESTRUCTURING:
INDIGENOUS RESPONSES TO MISSION SETTLEMENT
IN NUEVA VIZCAYA**

SUSAN M. DEEDS¹

“These Indians are vagabonds and layabouts, with even worse vices that, taken together, make them vain, sneaky, faithless, cheating thieves and drunks.” So wrote the missionary at Santiago Papasquiaro in 1731, over 100 years after the Jesuits initiated their conversion efforts among the Tepehuan Indians of northern Durango.² This pronouncement was echoed in 1773 by Viceroy Revillagigedo who characterized northern mission Indians as “feeble, cowardly, vengeful, lazy, thieving and without ambition.”³

Far different were the judgments of the early Jesuits who, on the threshold of their great labor in the north, forgave the Indians for what they saw as immorality and vices and even discerned virtue in their state of nature. “There was peace and concord... and freedom from deceit, fraud or trickery which is still so common in the more enlightened countries of the world.” Such optimism often characterized the initial views of dedicated missionaries in the era of the Catholic Reformation.⁴

¹ The author would like to thank the following persons who commented on various drafts of this article: Harry Crosby, Victoria Enders, and Karen Powers. She would also like to acknowledge the support of a Northern Arizona University summer research grant for this project.

² Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767* (México, 1941), 86-87.

³ Report on missions, Dec. 27, 1793, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter cited as AGN), Historia, vol. 42, fols. 20-26, 79-84.

⁴ Andrés Pérez de Ribas (1576-1655), *My Life among the Savage Nations of New Spain*, ed. by Thomas A. Robertson (Los Angeles, 1968), 10. See, for example, Laura Fishman, “Claude d’Abbeville and the Tupinamba: Problems and Goals of French Missionary Work in Early Seventeenth-Century Brazil,” *Church History*, 58:1 (1989), 20-35. It is interesting to note how the Capuchin d’Abbeville’s analysis anticipated the eighteenth-century critiques of Enlightenment thinkers like Voltaire and Montaigne.

The pessimism of the eighteenth-century remarks indicates that the missionaries did not live up to their own expectations in imposing new cultural criteria on what they perceived to be a religious *tabula rasa*. It also suggests that Indians had succeeded, to some degree, in thwarting the program desired by Spaniards. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the mission regime brought considerable upheaval, corrosion and reconstruction to northern Mexican Indian societies. The purpose of this article is to examine these processes in Jesuit and Franciscan areas of Nueva Vizcaya, chiefly among the Tepehuan, Tarahumara and Concho Indians of northern Durango and Chihuahua. Although the mission system cannot be totally divorced from its ties to civil institutions and society, especially in the ways the latter made Indians and their resources more accessible to Spaniards, this article does not focus primarily upon issues of labor appropriation, land tenure, and demography, which I have treated elsewhere.⁵ Instead it considers the political interactions and power relationships which evolved within the missions themselves, in an attempt to analyze indigenous strategies for refashioning their collective structures and identities in novel circumstances. This is a story, not of a simple dichotomy between destruction and survival, but of complex and diverse processes of subversion, accommodation, appropriation, invention and obfuscation.

The article begins with a brief synthesis of distinctive cultural features of the Tepehuan, Tarahumara, and Concho Indians at the time of contact and then describes, again summarily, the main features of the mission program — emphasizing the greatest areas of potential clash. Finally, it examines a continuum of Indian responses to the mission regime. Although no single progression of reactions can be applied to all groups, a general pattern is evident. Initially, Indians tended to allow missionaries to get a foot in the door. Often this was followed

⁵ Certainly these themes are important, especially in this region where Spanish settlement in the north was most concentrated; Susan M. Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of Labor Coercion on the Periphery," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 69:3 (1989):425-449; and "Mission Villages and Agrarian Patterns in a Nueva Vizcayan Heartland, 1600-1750," *Journal of the Southwest*, 33:3 (Autumn 1991):345-365.

within a generation or two by rebellion intended to expel priests and civilians alike. When the futility of this tactic had been established, less aggressive types of resistance were combined with certain accommodations to the new regime. Scholars have increasingly explored these patterns of "resistant adaptation" and "weapons of the weak" among native peoples and peasants responding to invasive colonial situations in other parts of the world.⁶

When Spanish miners and other settlers moved into northern Durango and southern Chihuahua in the last half of the sixteenth century, they found the area inhabited by a number of Indian groups (see map 1). Among them were the Tepehuan Indians who lived in the valleys and mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental and its central plateau in northern Durango and southernmost Chihuahua.⁷ To the north and west, Tarahumara Indians inhabited the plains, valleys, and canyons of central and western Chihuahua.⁸ East and north of the Tarahumaras were the Conchos, scattered along the river valleys and in the deserts of eastern Chihuahua.⁹ Of these groups, a significant number of Tarahumaras and a smaller group of

⁶ See, for example, James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985); and Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, 1987).

⁷ On the Tepehuanes, see Campbell W. Pennington, *The Tepehuan of Chihuahua: Their Material Culture* (Salt Lake City, 1969), and "The Northern Tepehuan," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 306-314. In the sixteenth century, Tepehuanes also inhabited parts of Nayarit and Jalisco. Today, surviving Tepehuanes dwell in the mountain canyons of southern Chihuahua.

⁸ On the Tarahumaras, see Campbell W. Pennington, *The Tarahumar of Mexico: Their Environment and Material Culture* (Salt Lake City, 1963), and "Tarahumara," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 10:276-290; and William L. Merrill, "Tarahumara Social Organization, Political Organization and Religion," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 10:290-305, and *Rarámuri Souls: Knowledge and Social Process in Northern Mexico* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

⁹ On the Conchos, see William B. Griffen, *Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya* (Tucson, 1979); and Arturo Guevara Sánchez, *Los conchos: apuntes para su monografía* (Chihuahua, 1985).

Tepehuanes still survive as distinct indigenous cultures. The Conchos were assimilated by the nineteenth century. Other indigenous groups, such as the Acaxeas, Xiximes, Humes, Guazapares, Chínipas, and Tubares, lived in the western escarpment of the Sierra Madre and eventually disappeared as separate cultural entities.¹⁰

What we know about the Tepehuanes, Tarahumaras and Conchos comes largely from Spanish accounts and sparse archaeological evidence. From these sources, we can try to imagine a "pristine" moment in Indian history, on the eve of conquest. This moment must not be seen as static, but as a point at which an ever-changing culture is captured and described. The Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras shared certain cultural and material features although the Tepehuanes may have had more Mesoamerican affinities.¹¹ Both groups lived in *rancherías*, dispersed settlements consisting of a number of contiguous households. Tarahumara *rancherías* tended to be smaller and farther apart than those of the Tepehuan Indians. *Rancherías* were located at irregular intervals, usually along a water source where the Indians practiced flood farming, cultivating maize, beans and squash with digging sticks. Because these Indians were also hunters and gatherers, they found it necessary to change *ranchería* locations in accordance with seasonal cycles and weather conditions.

Most anthropologists assert that political organization was atomistic with a headman and elders directing the affairs

¹⁰ See Ralph Beals, *The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750* (Berkeley, 1932), and Carl Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico* (Berkeley, 1934). The Acaxee and Xixime are discussed in Deeds, "First Generation Rebellions in Nueva Vizcaya," unpublished ms.

¹¹ Basil C. Hedrick, J. Charles Kelley and Carroll Riley, eds., *The Mesoamerican Southwest: Readings in Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnology* (Carbondale, IL, 1974); and Kelley, "Settlement Patterns in North Central Mexico," in Gordon Randolph Willey, *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World* (New York, 1956), 128-139. The following discussion of cultural characteristics draws on the anthropological sources mentioned in the previous notes and on Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson, 1962), 25-45; 371-563.

of each *ranchería*. These men have been characterized as moral authorities rather than political chiefs with executive powers. They were expected to promote the well-being of the community by inspiring consensus and exhorting their fellows to proper and wise behavior in public speeches called *pláticas* and *sermones* by the missionaries.¹² Ceremonial ties may have linked several *rancherías* informally, but only in warfare did supra-*ranchería* leadership emerge.

A divergent view holds that political organization among northwestern Mexican groups, especially in Sinaloa and Sonora, was more hierarchical and centralized at least in the early sixteenth century, but that waves of epidemic disease which reached the area before sustained Spanish penetration caused these structures to collapse, leaving Indians disorganized and, in the eyes of the earliest chroniclers, very decentralized.¹³ This hypothesis may have more validity for the Tepehuanes than for the other two groups considered here. Warfare was probably frequent, especially between the neighboring Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes; the latter were characterized by all early chroniclers as more warlike. There is evidence that the Tepehuanes had expanded their boundaries in the late fifteenth century, pushing west into Acaxee territory and northward into the Tarahumara. Tarahumaras expressed fear of Tepehuan warriors.¹⁴

War leaders were distinct from the moral/religious authorities who guided the community in peace time. They earned their leadership positions by demonstrations of bravery and through magical shamanistic powers. Warfare served several functions, providing the opportunity to acquire supernatural

¹² For an analysis of similar practice among modern-day Tarahumaras, see Merrill, *Rarámuri Souls*, 53-84.

¹³ Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City, 1991).

¹⁴ Carta ánuua, 1608, Juan Font (Fonte) (1574-1616), Zape, in Luis González Rodríguez, *Crónicas de la sierra tarahumara* (México, 1984), 160-165; relación de lo sucedido en la jornada que Don Gaspar de Alvear... hizo a los tarahumares... hecha por el P. Alonso de Valencia (1585-after 1632), April 1620, University of Texas Nettie Lee Benson Collection (hereafter cited as UTNLB), Joaquín García Icazbalceta Collection, Varias Relaciones, I.

power necessary for group welfare, material possessions, and female slaves. The Tepehuanes were known to demand the latter, along with corn and other commodities, from the Acaxees.¹⁵

Common cosmological features¹⁶ included belief in various stages/levels of creation, a flood myth, and dual supernaturals in opposition to each other. Supernatural forces were associated with sun, moon and rain. Idols representing these and other forces such as sickness and fertility were often found among Tepehuanes and only occasionally mentioned in the case of the Tarahumaras.¹⁷ Dreams were a source of knowledge and power. Ceremonial life linked to agriculture and warfare incorporated the use of intoxicants as well as singing and dancing rituals. Ritual cannibalism was associated with Tepehuan warfare, and consuming parts of the enemy was thought to impart qualities of bravery. It is not clear whether the Tarahumaras and the Conchos shared this practice although they used enemy scalps in purification ceremonies during wartime in a manner which resembled Tepehuan dances with the severed heads of their victims. Individual shamans had curing and prophesying powers. The dead were feared and thought to pressure the living to join them. Ritual religious beliefs were

¹⁵ Carta ánuua, 1607, Juan Font, and Juan Font to the Provincial Idelfonso de Castro (arrived in Mexico 1602), Durango, Apr. 22, 1608; both reprinted in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 156-60 and 178-186, respectively.

¹⁶ Among the contemporary ethnographic descriptions from which this synthesis is taken are: Report of José Tardá (1645-1694) and Tomás de Guadalajara (1649-1720), 1676 (I have used a copy transcribed by Merrill and Luis González Rodríguez from a copy in Rome: Joseph Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara. Letter to Francisco Ximénez (Jiménez, 1601-1686), August 15, 1676, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Mexicana 17, 355-372) (hereafter cited as Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676); report of Juan María Ratkay (1647-1686), Carichic, March 20, 1683, translated copy from the Latin in the Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, Mexicana 17 (University of Arizona Special Collections ms. 2261 (hereafter cited as Ratkay report, 1683); and many individual letters of missionaries found in *Documentos para la historia de México*, 4th series (México, 1857) (hereafter cited as DHM), vol. III, and in Félix Zubillaga and Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., *Monumenta Mexicana*, 7 vols. (Rome, 1956-1981).

¹⁷ Ratkay report, 1683.

inextricably linked with material survival, and supernatural forces demanded reciprocity in the form of sacrifices of food and even human life in some cases.¹⁸

Kinship organization was bilateral and centered in the cooperative economic activities of the extended family. Tarahumaras often lived in caves in kin groups; each head of household within this *parentela* had a discrete room within the cave.¹⁹ Children were valued productive members of these cooperative nuclei and rarely needed to be disciplined by their elders.²⁰ Polygyny and serial monogamy were practiced. Leaders (*principales*) were more likely to have more than one wife.²¹ Agricultural and gathering tasks were performed by both men and women although hunting with bow and arrow and the collection of *mescal* were the preserves of males. Women were considered to be weaker and expected to be subservient. Men thought to be cowardly were referred to as wives and women.²²

Archaeological evidence concerning the Conchos is more scanty. Although mainly recorded by Spaniards as bands of twenty to fifty persons (with scores of different names), there is some evidence that the Conchos were not solely nomadic but rather practiced limited agriculture. There were kinship and raiding ties across bands. Conchos also conformed to many of the cultural characteristics described for the Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras but were more loosely organized with even less

¹⁸ Cannibalism was reportedly practiced by Tepehuanes, but not Tarahumaras: Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676; Juan de Estrada, *Breve noticia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús de la América septentrional* (México, 1948).

¹⁹ Carta ánuá, 1611, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 186-193. The importance of kinship networks in reproducing indigenous and peasant communities in northern New Spain is best analyzed in Cynthia Radding, "Ethnicity and the Emerging Peasant Class of Northwestern New Spain, 1760-1840," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1990).

²⁰ Visita of Capt. Juan Fernández de Retana to Huejotitlán, Feb. 1693, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (hereafter cited as AGI), Patronato, leg. 236, fol. 447.

²¹ Carta ánuá, 1607, Juan Font, Ocotlán, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 156-160.

²² Francisco Ramírez (1545-1630) to Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Bachíniva, May 15, 1690, AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fols. 89-90.

sense of tribal identity than the Tarahumaras. The headmen of Concho bands tended to exert more coercive than moral leadership.²³

The first contacts between the indigenous groups and Europeans occurred well before missions began to be established in the late 16th century, first by the Franciscans among the Conchos and then by the Jesuits in Tepehuan and Tarahumara country. In most cases, the early contacts were violent. Conchos and Tepehuanes were taken as slaves or assigned forcibly to *encomiendas*. Some Indians, including Tarahumaras, traded corn directly to Spaniards and even went to work voluntarily for brief periods in the mines of Guanaceví, Indé, Santa Bárbara or on haciendas proliferating in the Valle de San Bartolomé.²⁴

The haphazard appropriation of Indian labor was eventually supplanted by the creation of missions — or *reducciones* — which congregated Indians of several bands or *rancherías* in mission villages near water sources. This reorganization of space and land use was intended to facilitate production of an agricultural surplus which could be marketed to surrounding mines as well as to introduce Indians to Spanish norms of civilized life. The new pattern conflicted with indigenous emphasis on the importance of *monte* (wilderness) for hunting and gathering and threatened this locus of myth and supernatural power. According to the Jesuits, both the Tepehuanes and the Tarahumaras believed that when a person died, his or her soul went to the wilderness where a beast (*fiera*) waited to take away those who had been bad and allowed the good souls to pass to a better place. The emphasis on the accumulation of surpluses clashed with indigenous custom which, while not eschewing petty trade, embraced more immediate uses for agricultural

²³ See note 8.

²⁴ Deeds, "Rural Work," and Chantal Cramaussel, *La provincia de Santa Bárbara en Nueva Vizcaya, 1563-1631* (Cd. Juárez, 1990), and "Encomiendas, repartimientos y conquista en Nueva Vizcaya," in *Actas del Primer Congreso de Historia Regional Comparada* (Cd. Juárez, 1989), 139-160. See also Robert C. West, *The Mining Community in New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley, 1949).

production in consumption, gift-giving, and supernatural offerings.²⁵

Generally speaking, the introduction by missionaries of a set of governing officials disrupted a less hierarchically differentiated social structure and introduced new parameters for social and economic divisions within Indian communities. A note of caution may be in order here. Recently, ethnohistorians and anthropologists have increasingly suggested that the widespread application of the concept of egalitarianism to indigenous communities should be reevaluated with a view to considering whether *principales* have manipulated it as an ideology to obfuscate the inequalities underlying their power.²⁶ Although we cannot be sure to what extent reciprocity, balance, and consensus characterized the indigenous extended kinship systems, the imposition of a new system by outsiders at the least encouraged new patterns of favoritism and uneven individual accumulation. Furthermore, the moral/religious authority of elders was called into question by the missionary who chose assistants to aid him in religious matters (*fiscales* and *temastianes*) and manipulated the selection of governing officials. The offices of governor, lieutenant governor, captain, and *alcalde* required selected Indians to exercise more coercive power.

Even when Spaniards chose these officers from the chief elders, the latter were not accustomed to the roles required of them. Consider this description of the Tarahumaras in 1686: "the governors and principales, who are usually the most ladino in buying and selling in the name of others, are more like brokers or captains. In most cases, they simply make suggestions, and everyone does what he wants. Thus it is not enough to reduce the principales, but rather each individual in particular... .When the governor orders them to undertake any task, only love, not fear or punishment, will make them do it."²⁷

²⁵ Report of Juan Hauga (1716-1795) to Bishop of Durango, San Miguel de las Bocas, June 30, 1749, Archivo de la Catedral de Durango (hereafter ACD), Varios 1749; cartas ánuas, 1611, 1612, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 171-174; 186-193.

²⁶ George Collier, "Mesoamerican Anthropology: Between Production and Hegemony," *Latin American Research Review*, 26:2 (1991), 203-210.

²⁷ Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676.

Many Indian officials were simply unable to reconcile the old and the new — especially when they could still call on support which derived from their previous prestige — and were replaced by more pliant individuals. These substitutions were of ten accompanied by the public shaming of those who had fallen into disfavor. Such acts as flogging or head-shaving were excruciatingly humiliating.²⁸

Missionary attempts to eliminate warfare between traditionally hostile groups stripped entire male groups of their source of power and prestige, leading many of them to argue that “they would be better off to die like men, defending themselves in battle, rather than quietly accepting their fate like women.” Christian virtues of kindness and mercy were perceived as emanating from fear and cowardice.²⁹

Missionary emphasis on the sanctity of marriage and the nuclear family unit along with taboos regarding sexuality challenged existing male-female ties, reproductive patterns, kinship arrangements, and a social order based on reciprocal work relationships. Several missionaries commented on the sometimes violent reaction to attempts to eliminate incest and perceptively noted that prestige accrued not from material possessions, but rather from the size of the kin group. Furthermore, by singling out children as more malleable converts, missionaries introduced tensions which upset generational relations.³⁰

The Christian concepts of sin and salvation required a greater emphasis on the individual than existed in societies whose religion and economy were based on the cooperative efforts of extended families. When Indians believed aspects of Catholicism were not inimical, they sometimes included them

²⁸ Testimony of Gerónimo, governor of Papigochic, May 16, 1690, AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fols. 84-86.

²⁹ José Pallares (1657-1718) to the Provincial Bernabé de Soto (1629-1698), Batopilas, Apr. 24, 1689, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 139-142; testimony of Capt. Luis de Valdés, June 9, 1690, AGI, Patronato 236, fol. 165.

³⁰ Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676; Ratkay report, 1683. The issue of generational relations has been analyzed in detail for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico by Ramón Gutiérrez in *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, 1991), 75-81.

within their own polytheistic, encompassing views. They had more trouble with the priests' efforts to end ceremonial practices which reinforced social networks and allowed them to offer gifts to supernatural powers. All of these groups engaged in drinking parties (called *tesguinadas* by the Tarahumaras today), consuming alcohol fermented from corn or agave.³¹ Often these parties, or debauches (*borracheras*) as the missionaries called them, occurred at the coming together of *ranchería* groups to cooperate in work or to transact business. They also complemented ritual activities which centered around insuring good harvests, promoting health, and honoring the dead. Missionaries were intent upon ending what they perceived as displays of the devil's power as well as the sexual promiscuity, incest, and violence which often accompanied them. Among these missionaries, Joseph Neumann (1648-1732), compared by a later-day Jesuit to "a wrathful Moses discovering the golden calf," was particularly dogged in employing trickery and brazen intervention to destroy jugs of corn liquor and end clandestine late-night celebrations.³²

Given all the potential for clash, why did Indians so often invite the missionaries to enter their territories? One of the answers lies in a demographic argument. In Nueva Vizcaya, contacts with missionaries always followed the arrival of other Europeans years before. This meant that epidemic diseases had begun to take their toll before the priests arrived, perhaps even before any Europeans, having been carried along pre-Columbian trade routes. One anthropologist has argued that what attracted Indians to the Jesuits was the latter's ability to cope with the terrible suffering brought by disease. Smallpox, measles, typhus, and other epidemics produced rates of Indian demographic decline similar to those of other areas of the New World, often reducing the population by as much as 95 percent within a hundred years after contact. Therefore, both the material and spiritual comforts offered by missionaries were enticing

³¹ For a modern description of *tesguinadas*, see John G. Kennedy, *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre: Beer, Ecology and Social Organization* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1978), 97-126.

³² Peter Masten Dunne, *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara* (Berkeley, 1948), 166-167.

to groups whose socioeconomic and religious fabric was being ripped apart. According to this argument, the Jesuits filled a void and helped reconstitute native adaptive strategies in a period of immense stress.³³ The thousands of baptisms performed by missionaries in the early contact period at least indicate that Indians may have incorporated this act into their ritual systems as a possible protection against disease.

The demographic argument downplays some of the other reasons advanced to explain early peaceful acceptances of missionaries which took place in Nueva Vizcaya. These center on the Indians' desire for the material benefits that would accrue from new farming and irrigation techniques, an expanded diet, and other material artifacts introduced by the Spanish. Furthermore, there was a relative absence of coercion on the part of missionaries in the beginning. Many Jesuits and Franciscans began their labors intending to teach by example, bringing in other paid laborers to dig irrigation ditches, plant fields, and build churches. These included not only local Indians, but also Tlaxcalans and Tarascans from central Mexico: "Mexican Indians living among the Tepehuanes are of great importance in instructing them in proper conduct and in appreciation of and reverence for things of the church; this is because example [rather than reason] is more persuasive among barbarians."³⁴

Although presidios were eventually established in Tepehuan, Tarahumara, and Concho country, in the early years soldiers did not constitute an effective coercive force over large areas. Only in the areas of earliest Spanish settlement around Topia and Santa Bárbara did settlers and soldiers wield sufficient power to begin assigning Acaxee, Xixime, and Concho Indians in encomiendas to work in mining and agriculture. In

³³ Reff, *Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change*. The high rates of decline were replicated in the Tepehuan and Tarahumara missions; Deeds, "Population Movements in Eighteenth-Century Villages of Nueva Vizcaya," paper read at the Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies, Estes Park, Co., 1986.

³⁴ Carta anual, 1612, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 171-174; on hired labor, see the accounts in Cuentas de la Real Caja de Durango, May 22, 1599, AGI, Contaduría, leg. 925.

these cases, missions were perceived as an alternative or a means of protection from civil and military authorities. Military officers and missionaries often conspired to manipulate this by staging situations in which priests intervened to stop soldiers about to administer whippings and more severe punishments.³⁵ Protection from traditional enemies was another factor; the Jesuits reported that the southern Tarahumaras saw that missions could provide a haven from the Tepehuanes. Certainly, some individuals within Indian groups were willing to make greater accommodations in order to reap larger rewards and all were attracted by the promise of a more secure food supply.³⁶ In the early period of contact, missionaries were usually more disposed and able to employ greater resources in gift-giving and festive occasions.

Finally, one is struck when reading Jesuit accounts of conversions by the zeal with which missionaries threw themselves into combat with the devil, who took the human form of Indian *hechiceros*.³⁷ Jesuits contrived quite deliberately to convince the Indians that the magic and miracles they could work were far more powerful than those of shamans. Their reports are replete with accounts of daily battles intended to upstage these *hechiceros*.³⁸ Judging from the number of reported successes from prayers bringing rain in times of drought, causing torrential rains to stop in times of flood, and striking witches dead, either missionaries were especially lucky in enlisting the cooperation of the elements or they failed to mention the occasions where divine power did not heed their call.

³⁵ Testimonios jurídicos de las poblaciones y conversiones de los seranos por el año de 1600, AGN, Historia, vol. 20, exp. 19. As time went on, missionaries themselves were more prone to take disciplinary action, enhancing the likelihood that they would become targets of rebellion. Thus, after rebellions, this function was increasingly entrusted to Indian intermediaries.

³⁶ Griffen, *Indian Assimilation*, 45-46; report of José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, Aug. 18, 1750, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 176, fols. 216-217.

³⁷ Carta anual de 1616, México, AGN, Jesuitas, III-29, exp. 21.

³⁸ Many of the Jesuit annual reports (cartas anuales) are devoted to this theme. Andrés Pérez de Ribas used many of these anecdotal experiences in compiling his *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra Santa Fe entre las gentes más bárbaras y fieras del nuevo orbe* (1645) (México, 1944).

In the beginning, Jesuits also capitalized on Indian perceptions that conversion might protect them from illness. However, smallpox and other diseases continued to take their tolls indiscriminately among the newly baptized and the unconverted, and over time the association of conversion with death was strengthened by the Jesuits' zeal to baptize and confess those who were dying.³⁹ While missionaries could construe death by disease as God's vehicle for selecting the most devoted converts for heaven, Indian shamans explicitly tried to use the correlation between baptism and death in inciting rebellion, averring that "the fathers had brought them pestilence and death with baptism because after the father baptized them, they fall ill and die."⁴⁰ Jesuit and Indian perceptions found little common ground in another arena as well. Although they had been cautious about the use of force in the beginning, the fathers increasingly elected to punish backsliders by flogging.⁴¹ Their targets had difficulty in appreciating that this painful and humiliating experience was intended to save them from a worse fate of eternal damnation.

Whatever the reasons for the initial acceptance of missionaries, within twenty to forty years after resettlement (*congregación*), all of the Nueva Vizcayan Indian groups participated in what might be called first-wave or first-generation revolts. The Acaxee and Xixime of the eastern Sierra Madre rebelled in 1601 after a generation of mining encomiendas and mission establishments in Topia.⁴² In the most serious of these first-wave revolts, the Tepehuanes rebelled in 1610 and 1616, attracting Acaxeas,

³⁹ See, for example, the cartas ánuas of 1595 and 1607, AGN, Historia, vol. 19.

⁴⁰ Carta ánuas de 1636, México, AGN, Jesuitas III-15, relación de la guerra de los tepehuanes por Francisco de Arista (1567-1649), Dec. 1617, AGN, Historia, vol. 311, exp. 1.

⁴¹ The severity of such punishments was limited by Jesuit rules; see Párrafos... acerca de... el castigo de los naturales, copy transmitted by Juan de Almonazir (Almonacir, d. after 1682), Matapé, Dec. 31, 1684, AGN, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda (hereafter cited as AHH), Temporalidades, leg. 1126, exp. 3.

⁴² Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, eds., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, Vol. I: 1500-1700 (Tucson, 1986), 149-244; Deeds, "First Generation Revolts."

Xiximes, Conchos, and Tarahumaras to their side. Before the rebellion was crushed in 1620, nearly 300 Spaniards (including 8 missionaries) and more than a thousand Indians lost their lives.⁴³ Conchos rebelled again in the 1640s. Tarahumara rebellions in 1648, 1650, 1652, and the 1690s followed the establishment of Jesuit missions first in the southern and eastern Tarahumara country (Tarahumara Baja) in the 1630s and later (1670s) in the more rugged mountainous terrain to the west (Tarahumara Alta). These revolts also attracted still recalcitrant Indians among the neighboring groups which had mostly submitted to the mission regime.⁴⁴

All of these seventeenth-century rebellions were post-conquest responses to the first serious demographic invasions by Spaniards and to the labor demands and social/psychological devastation these intruders produced. In several cases, rebellions were preceded by famine and epidemic which cast doubt on the effectiveness of the fathers' power to control supernatural forces. Indians came to associate the ringing of church bells with death. Insurrections were fomented by leaders who still had access to knowledge of native magic and ritual, but who often invoked Christian symbols of temporal power (bishops, popes, kings) to legitimize their actions even as they desecrated supernatural symbols such as crosses, altar ornaments, and church bells. Selective and pragmatic borrowing was not unusual for peoples accustomed to polytheism. Nearly always fueled by utopian or millenarian ideas, leaders promised resurrection to those Indians who died in the fighting and an abundance of foodstuffs for all. Witches prophesied that "even the pines would bear squash and corn." The rebels rarely discriminated in their targets, vowing to kill all Spaniards, civilians and cler-

⁴³ On the Tepehuan rebellion, see Naylor and Polzer, eds., *Presidio and Militia*, 245-293; Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (Washington, D.C., 1926), vol. II, 100-115; Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triunfos*, vol. III, 164-218.

⁴⁴ These rebellions are analyzed in Deeds, "Las rebeliones de los tepehuanes y tarahumaras durante el siglo XVII en la Nueva Vizcaya," *Colección conmemorativa quinto centenario del encuentro de dos mundos*, vol. 1 (forthcoming, Universidad Autónoma de Cd. Juárez, 1992).

ics alike. Their goal was to obliterate the intrusive presence and to return to a state of affairs that, while unpredictable, seemed more amenable to their own attempts at regulation and balance through familiar and reassuring ritual activity. In particular, they sought to revitalize those ritual practices that reinforced social networks and familiar kinship structures.⁴⁵ Jesuit insistence on the elimination of polygyny and drinking parties was simply incomprehensible.⁴⁶

In no case did the first-wave rebellions rid whole Indian societies of the Spanish presence, although the Tepehuan rebellion seriously threatened the Nueva Vizcayan mining economy for several years. Paradoxically, rebellions owed part of their organizational success to the coherence which had been imposed by the mission system on previously disaggregated settlement patterns. While Spaniards found it useful to weaken cohesion at the state level among the peoples of central Mexico, they were frustrated in dealing with the more loosely identified northern groups and encouraged them to form stronger inter-tribal ties, even naming captains-general for the entire Tarahumara and Tepehuan nations.⁴⁷

After the desperate first-generation millenarian rebellions demonstrated the futility of attempting to expel the invaders by force, it was clear that other strategies would have to be substituted. Warfare could no longer be a means of reinforcing group solidarity. Furthermore, daily subsistence demands discouraged collective protest. Mission Indians in Nueva Vizcaya responded in a variety of ways, ranging from partial accommodation or constructive collaboration to passive resistance or resistant

⁴⁵ Documentation for the Tarahumara rebellions can be found in AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, and Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 156.

⁴⁶ The Jesuit father provincial singled out these two basic areas of conflict in calling for military back-up for the Tepehuan missions in 1614, citing instances in which missionaries had been physically threatened in attempts to bring an end to "amancebimientos, borracheras y vicios." The Provincial, Rodrigo de Cabredo (1560-1618) to Viceroy Marqués de Guadalcázar, México, Aug. 5, 1614, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 278, exp. 7.

⁴⁷ Carta ánuva de 1674, Joseph Tardá, San Joaquín y Santa Ana, Feb. 24, 1674, AGN, Jesuitas, III-29, exp. 27. Viceregal order, Oct. 1, 1746, Archivo General de Durango, cajón 9, exp. 2.

adaptation,⁴⁸ and less frequently to active resistance — in this case expressed in flight and raiding, rather than widespread rebellion. A closer look will illustrate this continuum of responses.

Partial accommodation was very much linked to the issue of perceived benefits. This of course varied according to the status of the Indian. Indian officials chosen by or with the blessing of the priest served as middlemen who had to try to convince their fellows to conform to the new economic and religious regime. They gained the most from Spanish distribution of goods and perhaps even kickbacks which accrued to the missions for each Indian supplied in *repartimiento*.⁴⁹ Whether they passed on any of these benefits to others is not clear, since we know practically nothing about cargo systems in the colonial north. There is evidence that some Indian officials tried to extract certain commodities from the people they governed.⁵⁰

The scant evidence indicates that the first village officials may have been former wartime leaders (thus helping to explain why the leadership of the early revolts often included Indian governors and captains), but that later the missionaries chose from among those most willing to do their bidding and even from non-Indian *castas* (mixed-race groups). In both cases, these were individuals with less or no loyalty to any indigenous standard of moral economy.⁵¹ By the third quarter of the eight-

⁴⁸ Some of the theoretical bases for this analysis come from: Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest* (constructive collaboration is implied in Spicer's incorporative model); Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World*; and Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

⁴⁹ The naming of Indian officials is treated in Testimonios jurídicos de las poblaciones y conversiones de los serranos... por el año de 1600; AGN, Historia, vol. 20, exp. 19. A Franciscan report alleges that the Jesuits got one peso for each Indian supplied in *repartimiento*; Relación simple de las misiones que tienen los padres de la compañía en Parral, n.d. (18th century), Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Hispanic Documents, 176-6.

⁵⁰ Report of Rodríguez Gallardo, Aug. 18, 1750, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 176, exp. 6, fols. 216-217; Constancio Gallarati (1690-1739) to the Visitador, Juan Manuel de Hierro (1678-after 1763), Sn. Felipe el Real, May 12, 1735; UTNLB, W.B. Stephens Collection (hereafter cited as WBS), 66:213-216.

⁵¹ Decree of Gov. Joseph Sebastián López de Carbajal, Parral, Aug. 7, 1724, Archivo de Hidalgo de Parral (microfilm copy in the University of

eenth century, this practice was widespread. In defending himself against Tarahumara complaints that he had appointed an Apache as governor of Tutuaca, the Jesuit Joaquín Trujillo (1726-1775) argued that it was indispensable that such recalcitrant Indians be governed by outsiders and that many missions had governors who were *coyotes*, mulattos and Indians of other nations.⁵² Certainly there were cases where Indian governors refused to comply with Spanish requests and others in which governors were attacked by their own people when the exactions were excessive.⁵³ The case of the Conchos lends credence to the idea that band leaders were able to exercise more coercive power. Here the Spaniards had their earliest successes in labor appropriation. Forced labor drafts seem to have coincided with bands whose chiefs were adept at delivering labor.⁵⁴ For this reason, Concho missions staffed by Franciscans were never very numerous or stable.

Indian military auxiliaries also benefitted disproportionately to others. These were Indian troops who supplemented Spanish militias and presidial soldiers in times of crisis or warfare. Concho Indians, the Tlaxcalans of the north, were particularly used for this purpose, but others including Tarahumaras and Tepehuanes were also conscripted to put down rebellions and sometimes fought against their own people. They were paid for these services in money and in kind. The families of Indian soldiers who died in battle sometimes received some form of compensation.⁵⁵ Spanish officials explicitly recognized

Arizona Library), reel 1723b, frames 608-609 (hereafter cited as AHP with reel and frame numbers); Agustín Carta (1698-1767) to the Provincial Juan Antonio Balthasar (1697-1763), Chihuahua, June 7, 1751, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 2009, exp. 41; response to Tepehuan complaints in Viceroy to Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Nov. 18, 1754, AGN, General de Parte, vol. 38, exp. 161, fol. 185.

⁵² Joaquín Trujillo to the Visitador, Bartolomé Braun (1718-1767), Tutuaca, Apr. 6, 1764, UTNLB, WBS, 66, 17-19; report of P. Juan Antonio Balthasar to Viceroy, 1754, UTNLB, WBS, 1719.

⁵³ Quejas dadas contra Nicolás de Valenzuela y Nicolás el Vagre, Atotonilco, July 18, 1720, AHP, r. 1720b, fr. 1360-1367; 1532-1549.

⁵⁴ Testimony of Concho Indians, Casas Grandes, Mar. 20, 1690, AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fol. 772; Deeds, "Rural Work," 433-434; Griffen, *Indian Assimilation*, 45-46.

⁵⁵ Autos del Gobernador Juan Isidro Pardiñas, Parral, April 3, 1690,

this as a report of the viceroy's advisory council on matters of warfare demonstrates. It listed Concho, Tarahumara and Tepehuan villages from which Indian auxiliaries had been recruited and suggested that these allies should be well paid for their services in warfare and as spies in their own communities to warn of impending problems and thus ensure the steady flow of labor to mines and haciendas.⁵⁶

Aside from these categories of officials and auxiliaries who received special benefits from Spanish rule, a broader stratum was willing to collaborate where material benefits were widespread. The missionaries understood this and deliberately employed their material resources in gift giving. Often they were aided in the beginning by generous gifts of livestock from viceregal authorities.⁵⁷ Everyone probably benefitted from dietary changes — especially from the introduction of meat protein, wheat, fruit, and vegetables.⁵⁸ Although some scholars argue that the traditional Indian diet of corn, beans, and squash was not much affected by the production of wheat, vegetables, fruits, chickens, and eggs, there is evidence that mission Indians did consume these non-native products. Chocolate was popular and missionaries ordered large quantities of it annually from central Mexico. All of the missions raised livestock, wheat, corn, and beans.⁵⁹ Fiestas, at least, provided the occasion for the consumption of beef which according to the missionaries became very popular. Indians were known to trade horses for cattle; and in other cases, they simply stole them.⁶⁰

AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fols. 20-25; report of junta de guerra, México, Aug. 4, 1704, AGN, Historia, vol. 20, exp. 1; muster lists of January-May 1716, AHP, reel 1716a, frames 311-365. Radding has also analyzed this phenomenon for the Opata Indians of Sonora in "Ethnicity and the Emerging Peasant Class."

⁵⁶ Report of Junta de Guerra to Viceroy, México, Aug. 4, 1704, AGN, Historia, vol. 20, exp. 1.

⁵⁷ Carta ánuua de 1597, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, exp. 6; Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676; Juan Font to the Provincial Ildefonso de Castro, Guadiana, Apr. 22, 1608, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 178-181.

⁵⁸ A helpful discussion of these dietary changes is found in Miguel León Portilla, Susan Schroeder, and Michael C. Meyer, "Early Spanish-Indian Contact in the Borderlands," *Borderlands Atlas* (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Deeds, "Mission Villages."

⁶⁰ Report of Diego Larios (1563-1632), 1614, AGN, AHH, Temp., leg.

The degree to which Indians had control of these resources is not very clear. In the seventeenth century, Indian *cofradías*, (confraternities) dedicated to the cult of patron saints, developed almost exclusively in those missions which experienced imports of Náhuatl-speakers from central Mexico.⁶¹ In the eighteenth century, they appeared in mission villages which had substantial non-Indian populations. In some parts of Mexico, *cofradías* allowed Indians to husband and consume resources which might have otherwise been extracted from the community.⁶² We know very little about the *cofradías* which existed in perhaps a third of the mission communities, but some possessed (mostly without title) small livestock ranches, which produced meat consumed in saint's day celebrations.⁶³ Most were described as very poor, possessing few assets. We know nothing about their internal political and economic structure except that members (male and female) took annual turns in planning and participating in saint's day fiestas. Women, in particular, were responsible for cleaning the church and performing ritual tasks.⁶⁴ Complaints from missionaries in the eighteenth century told of Indians going out to solicit for *cofradías* as far away as Culiacán and Chihuahua and then consuming the few pesos they collected in drunken parties. Religious authorities believed that *cofradías* provided a cover for the resurgence of idolatrous practices, manifested in ritual drinking and dancing. Reportedly, *cofradías* failed to live up to their obligations of providing wax for candles

278, exp. 7; Pedro Gómez Castellano to Salvador de Acosta, Santa Cruz, Aug. 24, 1749, in ACD, Varios 1749.

⁶¹ Carta ánuia, 1612, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 171.

⁶² Murdo J. MacLeod, "The Social and Economic Roles of Indian Cofradías in Colonial Chiapas," in Jeffrey A. Cole, ed., *The Church and Society in Latin America* (New Orleans, 1984), 73-98; John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Cofradías and Cargos: An Historical Perspective on the Mesoamerican Civil-Religious Hierarchy," *American Ethnologist* 12 (1985): 1-26.

⁶³ Reports to the Bishop of Durango from P. Pedro Retes (1682-1757), Santa Catalina, Aug. 15, 1749; Lázaro Franco (1716-after 1755), Zape, Aug. 8, 1749; Juan Hauga, Las Bocas, June 30, 1749; all in ACD, Varios 1749. See also the inventories of 1753 in AGN, Misiones, vol. 13, fols. 24-57.

⁶⁴ Joaquín Basurto (1721-after 1753) to Bishop, Badiraguato, June 13, 1749, ACD, Varios 1749.

and paying for masses, indicating that missionaries were frustrated in their attempts to make them a source of remuneration.⁶⁵

Although mission lands were communal, family units enjoyed the fruits of the individual plots they worked. Other lands (either lands which fell within the mission boundaries or additional parcels acquired later by purchase or donation) were worked by Indians to support the missionary and the church.⁶⁶ For the most part, aside from the crops raised on their own small plots, Indians were dependent on the missionary to provide other, nontraditional foods.

Technological improvements also benefitted those mission Indians who survived epidemic disease. Although flood irrigation techniques were used before the Spanish arrived, missionaries did introduce more sophisticated ditch irrigation systems (*acequias*). Iron tools such as knives and agricultural implements made everyday tasks easier. Again we cannot be sure how extensively these goods were distributed, but judging from the *memorias* (lists of commodities ordered by the missionaries annually from Mexico City), certain items such as knives, axes, and hoes were popular.⁶⁷ Cloth and shoes were also distributed on a wide basis. This gift-giving by priests undoubtedly encouraged partial collaboration by the recipients. Although the pre-Columbian patterns of exchange are not clear, there are indications that petty trade and acquisitiveness were not alien to mission neophytes. The missionaries frequently remarked on Tarahumara trading acumen and desire for Spanish goods. "The Tarahumaras are docile, sociable, and addicted to bartering... for a needle, an Indian [will trade] two hens; for a knife, two ewes or a lamb... and for a measure of

⁶⁵ Quoted in Decorme, et al., *Manual de historia de Durango* (México, 1952), 86-87; see also the report of José Miguel Chaves (1716-after 1764) to Bishop, Cariatapa, July 18, 1749, ACD, Varios 1749.

⁶⁶ Benito Rinaldini (Rinaldi, 1695-1764) to the Provincial, Andrés Javier García (1686-1764), Huejotitlán, Oct. 13, 1749, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de los Jesuitas, Mexico City (hereafter cited as AHPM), no. 1389; Deeds, "Mission Villages."

⁶⁷ These lists are found scattered throughout the many legajos of the Temporalidades branch of the AGN, AHH.

cloth, a horse."⁶⁸ The lure of material goods had been manipulated by Spaniards for some time; it was the basis of the peace by purchase policy which had already proven successful in the aftermath of the sixteenth-century Chichimec wars.⁶⁹ In addition to gift-giving, missions also provided some skills training in smithing and building. Tarahumaras, especially, were willing to contribute labor to the mission enterprise provided they were compensated in material goods. When these were not forthcoming, the Indians were apt to seek remunerated work elsewhere.⁷⁰

The willingness to collaborate is most understandable in the material arena. The accommodations which took place in the religious realm are more difficult to explain. Participation in religious dramas, processions, dances and fiestas had obvious material benefits, and these events commanded the greatest attendance.⁷¹ Holy Week, Christmas, and saint's days were the most popular occasions for congregating and feasting. Despite the relative absence of *cofradías* in mission pueblos which remained more strictly Indian in ethnicity, religious sodalities (such as those of the Tarahumara which sponsored *matachín* dancers) were formed to dramatize events during major fiestas.⁷² The *matachín* dances were introduced by the

⁶⁸ Letter of Juan Ratkay to Nikolaus Avancini (1612-1680), Feb. 25, 1681, in Mauro Matthei, ed., *Cartas e informes de misioneros jesuitas extranjeros en Hispanoamérica* (Santiago, 1969), 155-159.

⁶⁹ Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley, 1952).

⁷⁰ Carta ánuá, 1622, San Miguel de las Bocas, AGN, Misiones, vol. 26; Ratkay report, 1683; and autos regarding the founding of new presidios, 1730, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 69:4, f. 181.

⁷¹ Carta ánuá, 1608, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 160-165; report of Felipe Calderón (1685-after 1748) to Bishop of Durango, Santa María de las Cuevas, July 21, 1749, ACD, Varios 1749; report of the Visitador, Agustín Carta (1698-1767) to the Provincial, Santiago Papasquiario, Aug. 14, 1753, AHPM, no. 1391.

⁷² Kennedy, *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre*, 153-156; Merrill, *Rarámuri Souls*, 46-50. Spicer, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson, 1980), 59-118, analyzes in detail the evolution of these ritual practices among the Yaquis. The differences between modern Yaqui and Tarahumara practices suggest that the Christian rituals were incorporated into previous belief systems.

Jesuits to teach about the Christian triumph over the Aztecs, but over time they took on other significance and were performed during the Christmas season and on other occasions. Also introduced were Easter-cycle dramatizations of the passion of Christ which included representations of Pharisees, Judas, Moors, and soldiers. Missionaries used music, vocal and instrumental (violins, drums, flutes and bells) to foster participation in festivals and attendance at catechism.⁷³ Fiestas were even more popular when they coincided with pre-contact rituals performed at significant times in the agricultural cycle. Certain pre-contact practices were conflated with Catholic rituals; for example, missionaries lamented that the use of ashes on Ash Wednesday was associated with face-painting for native ceremonies and commented that the frequent practice of self-flagellation as penance seemed excessive.⁷⁴ Indians also identified God and the Virgin Mary with the dual supernatural forces (male/female) which they associated with the sun and the moon. According to the Jesuits, both the Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras had a concept of soul (although very different from Christian beliefs). To what extent this was modified by new teachings is not clear.⁷⁵

A significant number of Indians listened to the priest on matters of Christian doctrine and sacraments, but responses varied widely. Missionary preaching frequently met with laughter, derision and mockery from adults. Priests were more aggressive in pushing the catechising of children and the sacraments of baptism and marriage. In the missions, where Indians actually took up residence, parents did allow their children to attend catechism even though this had the potential of introducing discord by disrupting the division of labor within families. Furthermore, disobedient children were occasionally physically punished by missionaries, acts which could provoke outrage from parents who avoided public confrontation and judging others and who must have felt terribly frustrated that they

⁷³ Carta anual de 1596, México, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, exp. 5.

⁷⁴ Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676.

⁷⁵ Carta anual, 1611, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 159. See Merrill, *Rarámuri Souls*, 46-47; 85-120.

could not protect their own children.⁷⁶ Children were often kept overnight in the church for sustained instruction, and each missionary had several acolytes to perform a variety of religious and serving tasks.

Most Indians overcame their fear of churches as places where Spaniards buried their dead (*casas de los muertos*). Before contact, they abandoned dwellings in which people had died and performed rituals to keep the dead from spiriting them away.⁷⁷ Although early dissidents who participated in revolts often tried to connect baptism with epidemic disease and death, eventually most Indians conceived of it as ensuring additional protection, both spiritual and material, in the form of godparents, and complained when the priest was unable to perform this service before an infant died. The concept of baptism may have been more readily accepted by natives who had pre-contact initiation rites for adolescents.⁷⁸ The church's insistence on marriage eventually met with at least nominal compliance by mission residents, although Indians often lied about the degree of consanguinity involved in a match. Many Indians continued to take other partners informally.⁷⁹ And there were women in marriages, which had been forced by missionaries, who aborted pregnancies contracted with other partners by drinking herbal potions.⁸⁰ Yet, a significant degree of compliance characterized the sacraments connected with key points in the life cycle.

On the other hand, confession and communion were less easily comprehended. Many Jesuits did not aggressively encourage Indians to partake of the eucharist, arguing that the latter

⁷⁶ Testimony given during the visita of Retana to San Pablo and Huejotitlán, February 1693, AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fols. 847-848; Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676.

⁷⁷ Carta anual de 1597, *Documentos para la historia de México* (México, 1853-1857) (hereafter cited as *DHM*), 4th series, vol. III, 36-41; Ratkay report, 1683.

⁷⁸ Pérez de Ribas discusses this practice among Cahita-speaking peoples; he interpreted it as an adoption ceremony for orphans; *Triunfos*, 166-167.

⁷⁹ Ratkay report, 1683.

⁸⁰ Carta anual, 1623, Pier Gian Castini (1587-1663), Chínipas, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 51.

were not sufficiently indoctrinated. Confession was required on an annual basis, but Jesuits often lamented that confessions were marred by denials and falsehoods. In these more abstract areas of Christian dogma, the problems of translation posed greater obstacles. This situation was partially overcome by the eighteenth century for most of the Tepehuanes and Conchos who were also fluent in Spanish, but not as easily in the case of the western Tarahumaras. Even in the eighteenth century, missionaries often complained that women were less likely to fulfill the minimum requirement of confessing once a year. Communion was not celebrated widely, but the variations seem to have depended not so much on the capacity of the Indians as on the leniency and language ability of the priest.⁸¹ Missionaries were more likely to ignore the fusion of native and Catholic beliefs when they did not conflict with basic doctrine, a practice which occasioned critical remarks from Spanish officials.⁸²

Indians also took advantage of the priests' curing powers. In some cases, Spanish medical practice was more effective than that of shamans and native healers. The most common indigenous curing rites involved the magical extraction of foreign objects from the body through the sucking of wounds and

⁸¹ Carta anual, 1608, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 160-165; Ratkay report, 1683; report of Gerónimo Figueroa (1604-1683), June 8, 1662, AGN, Historia, vol. 19, exp. 16. Visita report of Juan de Guendulaín (1680-1748), May 18, 1725, Chihuahua, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 2009, exp. 99. Report of Juan Antonio Balthasar to the Provincial, Cristóbal Escobar y Llanas (1692-1760), México, Aug. 15, 1745, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades 2009, exp. 20; report of Benito Rinaldini to Bishop of Durango, Huejotitlán, July 29, 1749, ACD, Various 1749. See also Merrill, "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601-1767," in Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley, 1993), 129-163.

⁸² Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions in Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, 1976), 40. Reporting on the Topia mission of Otaez in 1745, the Visitador, Juan Antonio Balthasar recommended the removal of Felix Ortier who had stirred up discontent by trying to reform certain customs of the Indians which most experienced missionaries would have left alone; Durango, Mar. 12, 1745, AGN, AHH, Temp., leg. 2009, exp. 20. Informe del Gen. Pedro de Rivera, Nov. 3, 1728, AGI, Guadalajara, leg. 135, exp. 3.

sores. The devastation of epidemic diseases proved the inefficacy of these means and encouraged a greater fear of sickness. During epidemics, Indians reportedly abandoned the very ill.⁸³ By administering food and water, Jesuits kept at least some of them alive. Although missionaries did learn which Indian remedies were effective and used them, they also kept supplies of herbs and powders sent from Mexico City to treat various ailments.⁸⁴ Just as priests manipulated one-on-one confrontations with shamans to establish their superior supernatural connections, they occasionally produced timely remedies to discredit individual curing specialists.

Where there were practical reasons for cooperating, Indians were likely to adapt to Spanish innovations, but the degree of accommodation was also strongly correlated with the strength of coercive mechanisms. Here the links between missions and civil society are important — particularly in terms of labor coercion. It is no coincidence that the Tepehuanes, Conchos, and lower Tarahumara Indians who lived in the areas of densest Spanish settlement and greatest Spanish military force proved to be the most adaptive. Missionaries did not always assert themselves as buffers against encroachments on Indian labor and land, and sometimes collaborated with non-Indian neighbors. Acculturation was also furthered by a rapidly growing racial mixing (*mestizaje*) which seriously undermined the Indianness of mission villages by the eighteenth century.⁸⁵ The shifts in ethnicity do not necessarily imply cultural change, but descriptions by Spanish observers from the second quarter of the eighteenth century on suggest that, in all of the Tepehuan

⁸³ Carta ánuva, 1625, Pier Gian Castini, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 50-51.

⁸⁴ In addition to providing basic necessities during epidemics, Jesuits reported using *sangrías*, *purgas y sudores* in treating those who were willing; e.g., Luis de Ahumada (1564-1629) to the Provincial, Martín Peláez (1559-1614), Parras, Nov. 13, 1608, AGN, Historia, vol. 19. Medicinal remedies were frequent items in missionary supply orders (*memorias*); many of these are found in AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, legs. 279, 282, and include such reputed cures as treacle, myrrh, camphor, and vitriolic spirits.

⁸⁵ See the articles by Deeds mentioned in note 5; see also Michael M. Swann, *Migrants in the Mexican North: Mobility, Economy and Society in a Colonial World* (Boulder, 1989).

and some of the lower Tarahumara villages, recent mestizo and mulatto arrivals were engendering new behavioral patterns (usually described as pernicious and vice-ridden) as well as accelerating the rate of racial mixture. In fact, ecclesiastical and crown officials argued that many of the missions should be secularized because they no longer possessed the unadulterated indigenous characteristics that conferred mission status.⁸⁶ A more detailed study of these villages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which draws on parish and notarial records would shed more light on their ethnic and cultural make-up and help us understand the transition from indigenous to peasant economies.⁸⁷ But even without this, we can make some observations regarding strategies, whether devised by biological Indians or mestizos, which retained some culturally Indian features in attempting to thwart incorporation.

There was always at least some measure of social space outside the purview of the missionary in which villagers could manipulate and construct strategies of passive resistance. Often in the period of first contact with Indian *rancherías*, missionaries would be told day after day to come back later. Or the Indians would suspend their hospitality and suddenly stop providing food to the would-be proselytizers. Indian elders who correctly associated Spanish intrusion with labor requirements argued that they could not become Christians because they were too old to work. Missionaries also experienced frequent slights and manifestations of disrespect, enduring derisive laughter and name-calling. They were extremely frustrated by customary Indian refusal to engage in debate on the source of cosmic power. In this early period, missionaries often feared for their lives especially as Indians became more aggressive during drinking parties. As one missionary expressed it: "We dwell like sheep in the midst of wolves."⁸⁸

As time went on, even in the most acculturated villages,

⁸⁶ Deeds, "Rendering unto Caesar: The Secularization of Jesuit Missions in Mid-Eighteenth Century Durango," (Ph.D. Diss.: University of Arizona, 1981).

⁸⁷ See Radding, "Ethnicity and the Emerging Peasant Class," for an example of how this can be done.

⁸⁸ Ratkay report, 1683.

foot-dragging, evasion of or minimal compliance with communal labor obligations, and dissimulation continued to frustrate the missionaries.⁸⁹ In the eighteenth century, Jesuits complained bitterly of the sloth and perversity of Indians. The following description is not atypical:

The Indians of the sierra are predominantly *ladinos* — lazy, impertinent, and badly influenced by Spaniards. They barely attend to the needs of their missions, planting 3 or 4 *almudes* of corn, and this only in some missions... In sum, they are without shame, without fear, and without respect. We have learned from experience that the only way to live with them is to expect nothing.⁹⁰

These “weapons of the weak” enabled Indians to thwart mission goals of producing agricultural surpluses which had little justification in their own rationale. When Indians did have extra produce to market, they often went around the priest and sold it to traders/brokers (*rescatadores*). The Tarahumaras were particularly adept at bartering corn for cloth with Spanish traders.⁹¹ Mission cattle that ran wild were frequently pilfered by their own villagers as well as outsiders. Theft could be rationalized in a number of ways. Wild cattle were seen as fair game; and Indians could understand the justice in appropriating livestock which destroyed their *milpas* (plots) or stealing a few head here and there when priests did not meet their obligations in remunerating labor or supplying gifts. What was perceived by the Jesuits as discretionary gift-giving often became established in the minds of Indians as entitlements.⁹²

⁸⁹ Puntos de ánnua desta misión de Taraumares, Nov. 14, 1668, AGN, Jesuitas, III-15, exp. 4.

⁹⁰ Report of the Visitador, Andrés Javier García (1566-1616), ca. 1740, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 1126, exp. 4. Such references abound in missionary reports and are too numerous to cite.

⁹¹ Letter of José Pascual (c. 1609-after 1673) to Gov. Bravo y Serna, Sept. 18, 1639, reprinted in Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos a la Iglesia de Chiapas*, 2 vols. (San Cristóbal de las Casas, 1906, 1911), 1:93-95.

⁹² Much of the testimony gathered during the Tarahumara rebellion of the early 1690s speaks to this issue; AGI, Patronato, leg. 236. See also Scott,

When the missions failed to provide sustenance because of drought, disease, neglect (often forced by prolonged absence in labor drafts) of lands, and collaboration of the missionaries with the civil society, their inhabitants not only pilfered, but also went out and foraged, surviving because they had never lost their knowledge of wild food sources.⁹³ The most frequent complaint of eighteenth-century missionaries was that Indians rarely resided permanently in the missions.

Finally, when Indians perceived that the missionary could or would not sufficiently protect them against labor demands and land encroachments from outside, they still had a variety of possible remedies, many of which were offered by their very oppressors. The villages most exposed to outsiders learned to appeal to civil authorities directly, against their own priests and other Spaniards. Some Indian families left the missions to seek more permanent work on haciendas. Other Indians actively sought mestizo or mulatto marriage partners who had moved into their communities from the very earliest days of their founding and had greater access to resources and less restrictions on their mobility. In spite of laws restricting Indian travel, migration and flight to other Indian villages was widespread in the eighteenth century.⁹⁴

Expressions of disrespect, mimicry, grumbling, and gossip became more ingrained in subtle, anonymous ways. Bilingual Indians had even more camouflage for rejecting the values of the oppressors who no longer mastered indigenous languages

Weapons of the Weak, ch. 7; and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990), ch. 6.

⁹³ Report of Hauga to Bishop of Durango, Las Bocas, June 30, 1749, ACD, Varios 1749.

⁹⁴ Report of Hernando Santarén (1566-1616), n.d., 1590s, AGN, Jesuitas, II-4; bigamy case, 1640-43, in Archivo Parroquial de Parral, caja 17a, exp. 1-1; testimony of Indians before the Juzgado de Indios, Sept. 11, 1692, in Lesley B. Simpson, *The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guadalajara* (Berkeley, 1958), 61; report of Juan A. Balthasar to the Provincial, ca. 1740, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 1126, exp. 1; visita que hizo el Gobernador López de Carbajal a Santiago Papasquiaro y disposiciones que dictó, Apr. 1724, AHP, r. 1722b, fr. 659-687; Pedro Retes (1682-1757) to the Provincial Escobar, Santa Catalina, July 17, 1746, AHPM, no. 1406; Pedro Gómez Castellano to Salvador de Acosta, Santa Cruz, Aug. 24, 1749; ACD, Varios 1749.

so efficiently. Epithets of cheater, liar, thief, murderer and cuckold were ascribed to the padres with impunity.⁹⁵ It is no wonder that missionaries complained constantly of the fickleness of their charges. Moving beyond these social hostilities, Indians also revived or invented witchcraft to bring harm to their exploiters. In the eighteenth century, *hechiceros* (Indian and mestizo) continued to surface even in more densely settled areas. In some cases, they performed acts intended to exact revenge against priests who had punished transgressors. Several missionaries claimed they nearly died from strange illnesses passed to them by witches. Shamans also conducted curing ceremonies with combinations of the traditional sucking and blowing rituals and Christian symbols such as crucifixes. Others directed harvest ceremonies.⁹⁶

In some cases, these forms of passive resistance did not succeed in preserving the integrity of the indigenous community. This was especially true when the defense was too piecemeal against rather formidable odds. The Jesuits themselves recognized this when they decided to secularize the Tepehuan and lower Tarahumara missions in the 1740s.⁹⁷ A number of Indian and mestizo inhabitants fought hard to keep their mission status because of tax and tithe exemptions, on one occasion sending a delegation to the viceroy to protest the transfer to parish status.⁹⁸ Many of these villages did survive as dynamic mestizo communities, and we need more study to determine the extent to which indigenous ways were socially reproduced in these communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In the upper Tarahumara missions, Indians were more

⁹⁵ Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676.

⁹⁶ Causa criminal contra Mateo de la Cruz, 1703-1705, AHP, 1703, fr. 973-982; various letters of Manuel Ignacio Cartagena (1708-1780) and Fernando Caamaño (1712-1758) to Bishop of Durango, June 1745, ACD, Varios 1745.

⁹⁷ Often families were divided in their loyalties, making community cohesion even more difficult to achieve; carta ánuva, 1608, Juan Font, in González Rodríguez, *Crónicas*, 160-165. Deeds, "Rendering unto Caesar."

⁹⁸ Agustín Carta to the Provincial, Aug. 14, 1753, Santiago Papasquiario, AHPM, no. 1391; petition to viceroy, Nov. 1754, ACD, Varios 1755.

active in their resistance and more able to avoid being swamped by the non-Indian population because the area had fewer resources coveted by outsiders.⁹⁹ By refusing to abandon their *ranchería* dwelling patterns to live permanently in mission centers, they were able to continue certain religious and social practices much as they had always done. In such cases, missions served as primarily ceremonial centers where Indians congregated on holy days to celebrate and to conduct business. Away from the missions for most of the time, they continued to host drinking parties, to change sexual partners, and to hunt and gather wild plants such as *mescal*. Leaders with oratorical ability (always seen by the missionaries as *hechiceros* in the power of the devil) continued to deliver public sermons on proper behavior. The Tarahumaras even celebrated Christian holidays without the priest. These celebrations incorporated Catholic prayers, but also feasts and ritual which retained features of native curing ceremonies. They included mention of God, Jesus and the Virgin, but without much relationship to Christian doctrine. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the upper Tarahumara remained largely without priests for more than a hundred years, abetting the continuation of ritual practices which were primarily indigenous with some Catholic elements. In the Tarahumara region today, public sermons and Holy Week celebrations embodying unique fusions of Indian and Christian elements continue in many communities.¹⁰⁰ The refusal to settle in mission pueblos did not mean that these Tarahumara tried to divorce themselves from all Spanish society. In fact, many sought temporary jobs outside their *rancherías* in agriculture, mining, and wood-cutting.¹⁰¹ But they

⁹⁹ Tardá and Guadalajara report, 1676; Diego Juan Ortiz de Foronda (1655-1690) to his Rector, Yepómera, Feb. 22, 1690, AGI, Patronato, leg. 236, fol. 7; report of Juan Antonio Núñez (1694-after 1751) to Bishop of Durango, Satebó, July 19, 1749, ACD, Varios 1749.

¹⁰⁰ José María Miqueo (1712-1764) to the Provincial Cristóbal Escobar y Llamas, Yoquivo, 1745, AGN, Jesuitas I-16, exp. 11; Merrill, *Rarámuri Souls*, 68-84; Kennedy, *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre*, 153-156.

¹⁰¹ Ignacio Xavier de Estrada (1673-1741) to the Provincial Juan Antonio Oviedo (1670-1757), Themeichic, Nov. 23, 1730, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 278, exp. 7. This ability to use the Spanish world without losing ethnic solidarity has a parallel in Yaqui history: Evelyn Hu-

were determined to preserve certain physical locations in which their social networks could operate without interference.

Those Indians, mainly Tarahumaras and other groups in the western escarpment of the Sierra Madre, who did not want to make any accommodation to the ideology of the mission system, found another solution short of rebellion.¹⁰² They simply fled beyond the area of effective Spanish penetration, to the most inaccessible mountain canyons. Even here, however, they took their sheep and cattle to provide wool, hides, and manure for cultivation. No area of the Tarahumara, therefore, remained untouched by Spanish "civilization," but at least a part managed to preserve certain cultural practices which distinguished it more clearly from the non-Indian society. These least acculturated Tarahumaras did not however conserve an undisputed ethnic purity; they tended to absorb through intermarriage other Indian groups who fled areas of Spanish penetration in Sonora and Sinaloa (Pimas and Jovas, for example) to the refuge of the sierra.¹⁰³ They also accepted and mixed with marginal mestizos and mulattos, perhaps acquiring geopolitical knowledge which helped them preserve autonomy. Tarahumaras, in particular, have been able to preserve cultural integrity in direct proportion to their ability to flee. A distinguishing characteristic of this group has been that certain Tarahumara communities seem to have had the cohesion to resist as whole entities. By the time of the Tarahumara rebellions of the 1690s, tribal differences concerning acceptance or resistance of outsiders were not centered within communities. Instead, dividing lines separated whole *rancherías* from one another, with those of the most isolated northwestern corner of Tarahumara country leading the resistance.

The upper Tarahumara Indians also found another outlet for their hostility to the Spanish in the late eighteenth century. Because of demographic pressures in the plains area of the United States, Apache Indians were being pushed in a southwest-

Dehart, *Missionaries, Miners and Indians: Spanish Contact with the Yaqui Nation of Northwestern New Spain, 1533-1820* (Tucson, 1981) and Spicer, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History*.

¹⁰² Report on Alta Tarahumara, n.p., n.d. (ca. 1780), in *DHM*, 4:4-117.

¹⁰³ See n. 101.

erly direction and were successful in conducting raids on Spanish farms and livestock as far south as Durango. The rugged mountainous terrain of western Chihuahua provided sanctuary as well as Tarahumara recruits for their raiding activities.¹⁰⁴

Nonetheless, active resistance through flight and direct aggression by raiding were not representative of most Nueva Vizcayan Indian responses by the end of the eighteenth century. Where indigenous communities had maintained ethnic purity and preserved a distinct cultural identity, primarily in the old Jesuit mission area of Alta Tarahumara, they had achieved this through the combination of a dynamic strategy of adaptive resistance and a fortuitous lack of interest in their region by outsiders. Many other former Indian villages had been transformed biologically into mestizo communities with social and economic structures which combined indigenous and imposed features.

The Indian history of this area of Nueva Vizcaya reflects a complex interplay of Indian and Spanish strategies. As in other areas where invading cultures tried to dominate or incorporate technologically weaker and less centrally organized societies, what emerges is a dynamic mixture. Above all else, Spaniards directed their energies to the appropriation of Indian labor, but the invaders also had cultural priorities which they insisted on imposing by marshaling all their strengths. These included ritual obeisance to Catholicism and Spanish domination of public places. Jesuits considered other Spanish cultural ideals, such as "orderly" urban living in monogamous unions, to be of great importance, but they equivocated about imposing them rapidly in the face of native resistance. Furthermore, they despaired of instilling an appreciation for abstract Christian concepts of virtue and sin, and the social and linguistic distance which separated them from their charges allowed them even to ignore the continuation of pre-contact ritual and social practices.

¹⁰⁴ Balthasar Rauch (Raux, 1682-1735) to the Provincial Juan Antonio de Oviedo, Sisoguichic, Oct. 17, 1730, AGN, AHH, Temporalidades, leg. 273, exp. 7; report on Chihuahua, 1760s, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 95, exp. 1; Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858* (Albuquerque, 1988), 30, 59-60.

Indigenous peoples evinced a similar or perhaps even more extensive range of responses to Spanish impositions. Some they were prepared to resist by means up to and including rebellion. Others were perceived as less threatening and provoked little reaction. The Indians accepted many Spanish material introductions eagerly and turned them to their own purposes. By obfuscating and feigning deference publicly, and sometimes even by manipulating the Spanish system itself, they were not only able to evade some of the obligations imposed upon them, but they also carved out spaces in which they could act out their critique of the dominant society and reinforce social and economic networks which enabled them to defend their material interests and to reproduce themselves biologically and culturally.¹⁰⁵

Indigenous peoples did not create autonomous social spaces uniformly, nor did agents of Spanish civilization impose their idiosyncratic desires everywhere in the same measure. Class and personality differences created divisions within each group. This study has only been able to hint at the range of indigenous responses without reference to particular individuals. Although individual actions are more difficult to document for Indians, it would be possible through further study to identify how individual Jesuits diverged in compressing their moral rules to a bottom line. Finally, as if analyzing the interaction of the wide-ranging strategies of subordinate and dominant human actors were not complicated enough, natural phenomena such as regional topography, climate, soils and natural resources should also be considered. This article therefore has only been able to allude to a broad stratum of factors which make up the extremely complex mix of adaptation, rejection and resistance evolved by Indian societies in response to the imposition of the mission regime. It does suggest, however, that even in the cases where subordinate groups were biologically swamped, they persistently refused to adopt some fundamental elements of the dominant ideology.

¹⁰⁵ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 108-135, describes how spaces are created by dissident subcultures to enable them to enact their "hidden transcripts."

CONTRIBUTORS

DAURIL ALDEN

Dauril Alden has been a member of the History Department at the University of Washington since 1959. A specialist in colonial Brazilian history, he received his A.B., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of California, Berkeley. His numerous publications include *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* and chapters in such volumes as *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, *The Church and Society in Latin America* and *The African Exchange: Toward a Biological History of Black People*. He has been the recipient of fellowships and grants from, among others, the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. A member of several professional associations, he has served on the editorial boards of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *The American Historical Review* and *The Americas*.

NANCY BONVILLAIN

Nancy Bonvillain, a specialist in language and culture, is a member of the Department of Anthropology and the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, New York City. She holds a Ph.D. from Columbia University. In addition to journal articles concerned with Jesuit activities in North America, her major publications include *A Mohawk and English Dictionary*; *A Grammar of a Kwasasne Mohawk*; and *The Huron*. She has been awarded fellowships and grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the U.S. Bureau of the Census. She is a member of many professional organizations, including the American Anthropological Association, American Ethnological Society, Linguistic Society of America, and American Indian Historical Society.

DAVID BUISSERET

David Buisseret has been Director of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography, The Newberry Library, since 1980. He was awarded a doctorate by Cambridge University in 1961. Before coming to the Newberry Library, he held teaching positions at the University of the West Indies. His several publications in the history of cartography include *Port Royal, Jamaica*; *Historical Architecture of the Caribbean*; and *Tools of Empire*. Currently, he is editor of *Terrae Incognitae* and serves on the editorial board of *Exploration of North America*. Among the many national Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institutes he has organized at the Newberry Library were two on "Transatlantic Encounters." He is a member of the Society for the History of Discoveries; Caribbean Conservation Association; and the American Historical Association.

THOMAS COHEN

Thomas Cohen is a member of the Catholic University of America History Department and Curator of the Oliveira Lima Library. He received the Ph.D. degree from Stanford University in 1990. His scholarly research and publications have dealt with Jesuit missionary activities in colonial Brazil. These include a paper on "The Jesuit Missions of the Amazon in the 1680s." His research awards include a Fulbright grant to Portugal and grants from the Gustav Wurzweiler Foundation and the Lucius Littauer Foundation.

R. EMMETT CURRAN

R. Emmett Curran, S.J., a member of the Georgetown University History Department since 1977, is a specialist in United States history. He received the Ph.D. degree from Yale University. In addition to writings dealing with the Jesuits in the United States and American Catholics during the nineteenth century, his major publications include *The Maryland Jesuits, 1634-1834*; *Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America*. In 1986, he occupied the Catholic Daughters of the Americas Chair at the Catholic

University of America. Among his current professional memberships and activities are the American Historical Association; American Catholic Historical Association; Board of Trustees, College of the Holy Cross.

SUSAN DEEDS

Susan Deeds is a member of the History Department at Northern Arizona University. Earning the Ph.D. degree from the University of Arizona, she specializes in colonial Mexican socio-economic history and colonial Latin American church history. Her publications on the Jesuits and Colonial Mexico have appeared in such scholarly journals as *The Americas*; *The Hispanic American Historical Review*; and the *Journal of the Southwest*. In addition to a Fulbright Fellowship for research in Mexico, she has received grants and fellowships from the United States State Department, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the Tinker Foundation. Her professional memberships include the American Historical Association; Conference on Latin American History; and the Latin American Studies Association

JOSEPH A. GAGLIANO

Joseph A. Gagliano is professor and chair of the Loyola University of Chicago History Department. Receiving the Ph.D. degree in Latin American History from Georgetown University, he has taught at Loyola since 1962. His writings concerned with religious orders and the Catholic Church in Latin America have appeared in *The Church in the New Latin America*; *Encounters: A Quincentenary Review*; and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He has also presented conference papers on the Latin American Church at meetings of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program and the American Catholic Historical Association. Grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Loyola Endowment for the Humanities, and the Loyola Endowment for the Liberal Arts have supported his various projects. His professional memberships include

the American Historical Association; American Catholic Historical Association; Conference on Latin American History; and the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies.

ANNE GODLEWSKA

Anne Godlewska is a member of the Geography Department, Queens University, Kingston, Canada. She received the Ph.D. degree in geography from Clark University in 1985. In addition to publishing *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt, A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork*, she contributed chapters to *Histoire de la Pensée Géographique Française*. Her scholarly articles have appeared in, among others, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* and *Espace Géographique*. She has been awarded fellowships by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; The Newberry Library; and The John Carter Brown Library. Her professional memberships include the Association of American Geographers; Canadian Association of Geographers; Canadian Cartographic Association; and the Society for the History of Discoveries.

MARY ANN LA FLEUR

Mary Ann La Fleur is a member of the History Department at Troy State University. A specialist in Colonial North American History, her doctoral dissertation was entitled "Seventeenth-Century New England and New France in Comparative Perspective: Notre Dame des Anges, A Case Study." She received the Ph.D. degree from the University of New Hampshire in 1987. Her recent scholarship has been published in *New England/New France 1600-1850* and in *New Hampshire Profiles*. A frequent panelist in scholarly conferences, her earlier papers relating to the Jesuits include "For the Greater Glory of God and France: The Society of Jesus and the Creation of New France in the St. Lawrence River Valley," presented at the 1991 American Historical Association meeting. She has been the recipient of research grants from the Canadian Embassy Research Program, Québec Ministry

of Intergovernmental Affairs, Troy State University, and the University of New Hampshire. Her professional memberships include the American Historical Association, Alabama Association of Historians, and Alabama Council in the Social Studies.

W. MICHAEL MATHES

At the time of the Symposium, W. Michael Mathes, Orden Mexicana del Aguila Azteca, was a professor of history at the University of San Francisco, where he taught courses in Latin American and Colonial Mexican history. His Ph.D. degree was earned at the University of New Mexico. Among his numerous scholarly publications are *Vizaíno and the Spanish Expansion in the Pacific, 1580-1630*; *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J.*; and *Las Defensas de Mexico en 1824*. He has been the recipient of a Fulbright research grant and a Del Amo Fellowship. The book review editor for *California History*, he is also on the Executive Board of Westerners International and a member of the American Historical Association, the Western History Association, and Academia del Historia del Occidente de Mexico.

CHARLES E. O'NEILL

Charles E. O'Neill, S.J., was recent Director of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome at the time of the Symposium. He holds a doctorate in History from the Gregorian University and taught for several years at Loyola University, New Orleans. His recent scholarly article and essays have appeared in *Padre Kino, L'Avventura di Eusebio Francesco Chini*; *American Catholic Preaching and Piety in the time of John Carroll*; *The Catholic Historical Review*; and *The Political Science Quarterly*. He has also published, among others, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana*; *Viel, Louisiana's Firstborn Author*. His professional memberships include the American Historical Association; American Catholic Historical Association; Organization of American Historians; and the Louisiana Historical Association.

LUIS PALACIN GÓMEZ

Luis Palacin, S.J. is a professor of history in the Universidade Católica de Goiás, Brazil, where he is a specialist in colonial Brazilian history. He received a doctorate in history from the Universidad de Madrid. His major recent publications include *Vieira e a Visão Trágica do Barroco*; *Patrimônio Histórico de Goiás*; *Subversão e corrupção*; *Um estudo do administração pombalina em Goiás*. He is a member of Associação Nacional dos Professores Universitários de História and Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Estado de Goiás.

ESTEBAN J. PALOMERA

Esteban J. Palomera, S.J. is a professor of history, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F. A specialist in the History of Mexico, he earned a doctorate at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico. His major publications are *La Obra Educativa de los Jesuitas en Guadalajara, 1586-1986*; *La Obra Educativa de los Jesuitas en Tampico*; *Fray Diego Valadés, O.F.M.*; "*La Retórica Cristiana*" de Fray Diego Valadés. He is a member of the Confederación Nacional de Escuelas Particulares and Confederación Interamericana de Educación Católica.

CHARLES E. RONAN

Charles E. Ronan, S.J., is Professor Emeritus in the Department of History, Loyola University of Chicago. He earned the Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas at Austin. A specialist in Colonial Latin American History, he taught in Loyola's History Department from 1963 until 1984, and also served as an associate editor of the historical journal *Mid-America*. His monographic publications concerning the Jesuits include *Francisco Javier Clavigero, S.J. (1731-1787)*, *Figure of the Mexican Enlightenment: His Life and Works*; *El Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina (1740-1829)*; *East Meets West, The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, which he co-edited with Bonnie B. Oh. His many articles on Jesuit history have appeared in, among others, *Revista de Historia de América*; *The Americas*; *Handbook of Middle American Indians*; and *Enciclopedia Italiana*. He is

active in several professional organizations, including the American Catholic Association; the Conference on Latin American History; the American Historical Association; Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies; American Division of the Jesuit Historical Institute.

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